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To thine own selves be true : the possible selves of low-income women

Barbara S. Robinson
University of Tennessee

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Barbara S. Robinson entitled "To thine own selves be true : the possible selves of low-income women." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Education.

Kathleen L. Davis, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Marla P. Peterson, William Poppen, M. Kathleen Warden, June Gorski

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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Dean of the Graduate School

To Thine Own Selves Be True:

The Possible Selves of Low-Income Women

A Dissertation

Presented

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Barbara S. Robinson

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband Leo Robinson, whose patience and encouragement I have so needed and appreciated; to my children and their spouses, Drs. Maurice and Jill Robinson, and Dr. Stacia Pratt and Rob Pratt, who have always told me, "Go for it, Mom;" to my granddaughters, Ashley and Alexandra Robinson, who believed that attending the university is what all grandmothers do. I dedicate it also to my mother, Mary Bell Smith, who has been the family role model for continuing education. Finally, it is dedicated to the memory of my late father, Doyle L. Smith, who had little formal education, but who educated himself and spent his life facilitating the education of his children and grandchildren.

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the possible selves of 199 low-income women in eight rural counties in East Tennessee. The women in the study were ages 18 to 59 and were attending either adult basic education classes (DHS group) or community college developmental classes (DEV group). Possible selves, which may reflect hopes or fears, are one's conceptions of what one may become in the future (Markus and Nurius, 1986). The two groups were compared as to a number of variables related to hoped-for and feared occupational possible selves. The effect of the following four predictors was examined for likelihood of low-income women's achieving their most hoped-for self or likelihood of their becoming their most feared self: group membership, attained educational level, balance between their most hoped-for and their most feared selves, and locus of control (Spheres of Control scores).

It was found that the two groups did not differ significantly as to the number of hoped-for and feared selves, and each group generated more hoped-for than feared selves. Affective intensity for the most hoped-for self was significantly higher for the DEV group than for the DHS group, but no significant differences were found in affective intensity for feared selves. Both groups assessed their likelihood of achieving their most hoped-for self greater than their likelihood of becoming their most feared self. Both groups reported a greater number of role models for feared selves than for hoped-for selves, but the two groups did not differ significantly as to the number of role models reported. DEV participants were significantly more likely to report

taking self-initiated actions to achieve their most hoped-for self and to avoid their most feared self; moreover, the DEV group scored significantly higher on internal locus of control than did the DHS group.

Internal locus of control was a significant predictor of likelihood of the most hoped-for self, and both educational attainment and group membership tended toward significance. In a supplemental regression analysis, internal locus of control, group membership, and mother's educational attainment were significant predictors of likelihood of achieving the most hoped-for self. There were no significant predictors of feared selves.

Results were discussed in relation to what is known about possible selves and about the lives of low-income women. Implications of the study were presented, and recommendations for future study were offered.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Poor women, especially those with children, have posed a dilemma for makers of public policy for centuries. The issue of what must be done for such families is as old as families themselves. From ancient times, when the biblical Hagar and her son Ishmael were driven homeless into the desert, dependent women and their children have raised concerns. Today, 80 percent of families composed of a teenaged mother and her children live on public assistance, and the number of mother-headed families continues to rise (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1998). Public-assistance recipients, however, are not the only poor women in America. About one-fourth of the poor are people in families in which the head of the family has less than a high school education and is working full-time (Acs, 1999). In the new millennium, an important question lingers: How can society both know the nature of and address the needs of poor women without fostering dependency and without the inherent assumption of inferiority?

Need for the Study

Historically, poor women have been caught in a double bind. On the one hand, for centuries women were expected to stay at home with their children; on the other hand, very poor stay-at-home mothers were dependent upon public assistance, an income which led to sub-standard lives of malnutrition, squalor, and neglect (Burns, 1994; Polakov, 1993). If such a woman worked to supplement her meager assistance, she might be charged with child neglect (Sidel, 1996). Early welfare programs for poor women were

largely designed by men and women unacquainted with the lives of the poor, and such programs often reflected commonly-held myths about poor women (Mulroy, 1995; Polakov, 1993; Sidel, 1996; Wyche & Bullock, 1997).

Information about low-income women is confounded by such myths and stereotypes about the poor, leading inevitably to the monitoring of women's behavior to assure moral deservedness (Polakov, 1993; Rice, 1996). Even today, as Sanchez-Hucles and Gamble (1997) note, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) ties assistance to particular behaviors (i.e., having children immunized against certain diseases, paying rent, limiting family size by denying additional benefits for additional children). Frazier and Bullock (1997) suggest that such initiatives tied to stereotyped behaviors may strongly prejudice and limit what we actually do know about public assistance recipients today. Seccombe, James, and Walters (1998) report that even welfare recipients themselves tend to stigmatize other recipients, accepting popular constructions of the poor as lazy and unmotivated. Many of the 47 in-depth interviews they conducted with welfare recipients reflected the victim-blaming theories inherent in the myths: that although they themselves were not lazy or unmotivated, other recipients were. Salomon (1996) and Wyche and Bullock (1997) describe five myths commonly held about public assistance recipients in particular. These are that (a) welfare leads to chronic dependency, (b) welfare provides a disincentive to work, (c) welfare promotes single parenthood, (d) African-American women are the largest group of recipients, and (e) welfare creates a culture of poverty transmitted in turn to the children in the family. The unquestioned acceptance and repetition of such myths

does little to clarify our understanding of the low-income woman in general.

In the current climate of welfare reform and increased attention to the lives of low-income women, it is important to examine the myths associated with the group of low-income women who receive public assistance today. Frazier and Bullock (1997) reviewed a nationwide, six-year study of 436 female-headed households receiving Aid for Dependent Families. The study found that the average welfare recipient was 27 years old, had two children, and used public assistance for only a few years. As to the myth of breeding a culture of poverty transmitted from generation to generation, two-thirds come from families that have never received welfare (Salomon, Bassuk, and Brooks, 1996). Facts about the Tennessee welfare reform initiative, Families First, likewise belie the myth; the average age of recipients is 34.2 years, with 76.2 percent of all families having two or fewer children (Tennessee Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). While assumptions are made about the nature of poor women, relatively little is actually known about them (Astone, 1993; Fitchen, 1995).

Historically, poor women and their children have been viewed as an issue of economic capital. This economic view assumes that poor women are poor because they do not work, that employment is readily available, and that unemployed women simply should be placed in available jobs. Taking a wholly labor- market view ignores other employment factors such as childcare; transportation; proximity of available jobs to the greatest concentration of poor women; educational levels; and, perhaps the most crucial factor, emotional ability to work (Aaronson & Hartmann, 1996; Axinn & Hirsh, 1993; Bowen, Desimone, & McKay, 1995).

Rice (1997) and Sidel (1996) urge an alternative approach with emphasis on human capital. Implicit in the human capital theory is the need for higher education and for attention to how poverty may have affected the woman's self-concept, her personal efficacy, and her incentives for future behavior. Utilization of human capital calls for an investment in the education and training of poor women, extending to them the same opportunities for productivity that middle-class individuals receive (Rice, 1997), but it may also require examining and addressing internal factors. Hypothetically, poor women will work; but a variety of interventions may be necessary to assure that employment of the low-socioeconomic woman is permanent, satisfying, and economically feasible. One's pool of occupational possibilities derives from her social and historical context and from models she may have experienced through contacts with others and through the media, and thus may be as rich or as constrained as her experiences have been.

The Task Force of Division 35 of the American Psychological Association (1997), has called for research concentrating on poor women as human capital, rather than economic capital. Utilizing human capital, however, requires examination of psychological research and a factual exploration of the characteristics of public assistance recipients rather than unquestioned acceptance of stereotypes. If one is to demonstrate the value of the potential contributions of poor women, research may need to focus on factors that may prevent poor women from successful transition from welfare to work. Sanchez-Hucles and Gamble (1997) have cited a need for "more research... directed towards identifying personal strengths and resiliency factors that increase successful work participation" (p.22). A first step in identifying such strengths is to examine the realities of

the lives of low-SES women. A second step is to examine internal resiliency factors such as self-concept and personal efficacy. More specifically, it is vital to understand what poor women believe about themselves, what they therefore perceive themselves capable of accomplishing, and what they fear that they might become in the future. These beliefs about future capabilities and fears, which have been called "possible selves," have been shown to provide the key motivational pattern for change (Hooker, 1999; Leondari, Singollitou, & Kiosseoglou, 1998). The possible self, however, has not been explored among poor women, nor is it known whether the possibilities poor women imagine for themselves are vivid, salient, or plausible, all of which are conditions necessary for these images to be motivational. Poor women have experienced the poverty and stigma attached to their condition, but it is not known whether they have also experienced the positive conditions or seen the role models that would enable them to balance their negative experiences and fears with plausible positive future selves, balance being a condition necessary for motivation to change oneself. Welfare reform has drawn attention to low-income women receiving public assistance; however, attention should be paid to other groups of low-income women as well. For example, low-educational attainment places women at a high risk of perpetually low incomes, as does living in the South, or living in a rural area (Acs, 1999). For this reason two groups of low-SES women have been included in this study, assistance recipients and non-assistance recipients who are low-income and who live in the rural South. This study seeks to describe possible selves, to assess locus of control as it pertains to personal efficacy, and to determine whether environmental and attributional differences affect what these low-SES women hope for and fear in the area

of employment. In addition, the study was designed to ascertain whether environmental and personal differences existed between poor women who are public assistance recipients and poor women who do not receive public assistance.

Theoretical Basis for the Study

The Evolving Self

The theoretical basis of this study lies in the concept of capacity of the self for evolution throughout the life span. The self is not static, but evolves with age. Several recent theorists have suggested that an individual's future is shaped by her perception of her potential for future development (Cantor & Kihlstrom, 1987; Schlenker, 1985; Raynor and McFarland, 1986; Emmons, 1986). This perception of possible future accomplishments which Markus and Nurius (1986) call the "possible self" has roots in James's (1890/1983) belief that one constantly redefines the self, suppressing one self to embrace another. Erikson (1968) likewise articulated a view of the dynamic self, some selves being relinquished while others are developed. He suggested that the examination of possible future selves and the discarding of past selves occurs most frequently in adolescence; but based on his own and others' life experiences, Erikson believed that such a dynamic self continues throughout old age (Monte, 1996).

Markus and Nurius (1986) more recently have built upon both James's and Erikson's theories of redefining the self and have concluded that the individual strives for desired possible selves and attempts to avoid feared possible selves. In this striving, the self unifies "perceptions of 'What currently is' with those of 'What once was' and 'What one day might be'" (Cross & Markus, 1991, p. 230). Oyserman and Saltz (1993) suggest

that indeed the incentive for future behavior lies in the balance between the desired and the feared possible self. For example, "I want to be popular" may be balanced by a countervailing fear, "I am afraid I will have no friends." Such a balance between envisioned popularity and loneliness assures both a positive goal to work toward and a negative simulation to avoid. Markus and Nurius's initial studies (1986) indicated that the possible selves of their subjects were mostly positive. These subjects, however, were mainly middle class college students choosing from a list of characteristics which they endorsed as hoped-for, expected, or feared. No comparable studies of possible selves have been done exclusively with low-income women, but studies done with low-income adolescents have demonstrated an imbalance leaning toward a greater number of feared selves without countervailing positive hoped-for selves (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995).

Motivation Through Anticipatory Socialization

Cross and Markus (1991) have called self-representations that are hoped-for or feared but not yet achieved anticipatory. They add that these images of the self in some desired or feared end state are crucial in adulthood, creating the conception of "me in a new role." Anticipation, likewise, may well affect the ability of assistance recipients to simulate a future role as a working person. Hooker (1999) refers to this anticipatory process as a feed-forward process, suggesting that, along with proactivity and selectivity, the process is crucial to the development of goal-setting and self-direction. Instruments which are traditionally used in career counseling do not measure these crucial processes. Meara, Davis and Robinson (1997) note that many career assessment instruments instead measure values, needs, saliency, career maturity, and self-efficacy, areas in which low-

socioeconomic women may score deceptively low because of the lack of role models and perhaps because the traditional values and skills may differ in their milieu. Unfortunately, research has not yet addressed ways to assess career aspirations among low-socioeconomic women. If hoped-for selves serve as motivational foci, whereas feared selves serve as motivators to avoid a given outcome, then assessing the hopes and fears of poor women may provide valuable information about career aspirations and motivational factors in this population. What does the low-income woman anticipate? Is she able to balance a positive goal - a desired future self - with a negative consequence of failure to achieve the desired goal? What kind of cultural capital is valued in her environment?

Possible selves are visions of the self in future states (Markus and Nurius, 1986). Providing a way to join self-concept and motivation, possible selves enable simulation or anticipation of a variety of futures. They provide the necessary imagery for the fears, hopes and threats to the future one idealizes. These personalized, individualized possibilities are meaningful to the person for that reason. The more vividly, concretely, and specifically the individual envisions possible future selves, the more affectively, or emotionally, salient they become. When one is able to anticipate affective experiences associated with the specific visualization of the possible self, the affect or emotional experience associated with the simulation provides an additional incentive for working toward a goal. For example, when the imagined future can be linked with positive affect and failure to achieve that goal can be linked with negative affect, the simulated future self has more power to motivate. Unlike earlier conceptualizations of self-concept, possible selves do not have a behavioral component. They are simply internal blueprints for

accomplishment of a goal. Cross and Markus (1991) state that, because possible selves do not involve behavior, they are thus more modifiable than other elements of the self-concept.

Modifying the possible self, however, requires examining the domain of another person's self-knowledge. Because possible selves have been described as very private and psychological, not behavioral, their private nature may actually conceal what low-income women experience as the self. They are the result of comparing one's thoughts and behaviors with those of relevant others, thus their connection with anticipatory socialization. For example, one's identity as a parent may involve comparing one's feelings and behaviors with those of a model one has observed. The more plausible such a role seems in the light of comparison with the model, the more likely it is to motivate behavior. Conversely, the more implausible the role appears by comparison with socialized experience, the less likely such a role may seem to the individual.

It is known that the more plausible the possible self is, the more likely this anticipatory self is to influence self-perception and future behavior (Oyserman & Saltz, 1993). Likewise, the more vivid the possible self, the more vivid the cues associated with achievement of a goal (Cross & Markus, 1991). What is not known is how vivid (i.e., specific) or plausible the future selves of low-income women may be.

Essentially, future selves are derived from images and sources that are salient to the individual's sociocultural and historical setting (Markus & Nurius, 1986). For example, Oyserman, Gant, and Ager (1995) found that African-American adolescents feared outcomes related to socialization experiences associated with the poverty of their

neighborhoods, but had little context for constructing plausible positive futures. This paucity of positive experiences created an imbalance between the feared and the hoped for selves, rendering the hopes less likely to be achieved. Women receiving public assistance, likewise, have negative sociocultural experiences associated with their condition, but whether their lives offer plausible positive alternatives has not been studied.

Attributions and Perceived Control

Closely connected with possible selves are the concepts of attribution and perceived control. Attributional theory is one means of describing how individuals devise causal explanations for outcomes. Fiske and Taylor (1984) point out that, although attributional theory began as an attempt to explain how individuals perceive others' behavior, its applications have multiplied. Attributional theory may be applied to mood, to functioning following trauma (Frazier, 1990), and to achievement. Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale (1978) applied attribution to mood, suggesting that repeated experiences in which one lacks control teach one helplessness. Both Farmer (1985) and Washington (1999) have applied attribution to career motivation, aspiration, and employability. Washington (1999) focuses on self-efficacy (internal locus of control) as a key to employability and recommends enhancement of one's perceived ability to control outcomes. Abramson, Seligman, and Teasdale (1978) describe three elements of attribution: locus (internal/external source of control), stability (duration), and globality (pervasiveness). Weiner (1979), likewise, has described three elements of attributions for success or failure, which he called locus, stability, and controllability.

Locus of control has been closely associated theoretically with self-efficacy, which

is belief in one's capacity to achieve a goal through persistence born of belief in oneself. Bandura (1989), for example, views self-efficacy as a construct separate from locus of control, whereas Paulhus (1991) includes it as one of three elements of locus of control he assesses in his Spheres of Control Battery. For the purposes of this study on employment of poor women, locus in the area of personal efficacy is the aspect of attribution theory which is of most interest.

Cross and Markus (1994) emphasize the importance of an individual's attributions of her abilities. Studies of attributional style have indicated that males tend to attribute their successes to internal, stable causes; but they attribute their failures to external, unstable causes (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). Females, on the other hand, tend not to internalize success. Studies consistently tie patterns of attribution to gender, men tending to attribute their successes to internal factors such as ability, women tending to attribute their successes to external, unstable factors such as luck (Frieze, Whitley, Hanusa, McHugh, 1982; Unger & Sussman, 1986; Brown, Reedy, Fountain, Johnson, & Dichiser, 2000).

Personal efficacy is perceived internal locus of control. Locus of control refers to the internality or externality of one's causal attributions for success or failure (Lefcourt, 1991). It is essentially the expectation one has about the degree to which she controls her own outcomes. Julian Rotter (1990) states that individuals with an external locus of control believe that their successes and failures are determined by external factors such as luck, fate, or chance. Individuals with an internal locus of control believe that their success and failure are the results of their own actions. Rotter (1990) suggests that locus of

control is generalized to all life domains, but other researchers have found it to differ within differing contexts (Lachman, 1985).

In addition to variations in context, locus of control may be related to age or to cultural differences. Perhaps this is true of employment also; however, in this context, there do not appear to be any published studies examining locus of control among low-SES women. A pertinent question is, how much control do these individuals believe they have over a given outcome? What beliefs do these individuals have about the relationship between their actions and outcomes? Do they experience an outcome as connected to effort or do they see it as a result of chance, luck, or fate?

In Marks's (1998) deconstruction of locus of control, cultural differences in locus of control are considered. He does not examine cultural differences in employment of women and locus of control, but he does suggest general cautions in examining the bias toward enhancing internality. Generally, internal locus of control is associated with less pathology and with greater employment success; however, he suggests that locus of control may be culturally or situationally variable. He found that between cultures and within cultures, the assumption that internal locus of control is preferable varies. Specifically, he notes that lower socioeconomic individuals more frequently attribute success to external forces than do higher socioeconomic individuals in the same cultures, and this socioeconomic difference in internality may indeed be true of poor Appalachian women as well.

Lefcourt (1991) states that individuals living in responsive environments may notice the connection between effort and outcome, but "individuals living in less

responsive milieus may fail to perceive the connection between efforts and outcomes" (p. 414). It is thus useful to know whether low-income women, who live in relatively unresponsive environmental milieus, perceive such a connection between their efforts and satisfactory employment. Possible selves illustrate a balance of expectancy and outcome, but they do not address the question of whether the individual believes control of that outcome is internal or external. Just as possible selves derive from sociocultural encounters, locus of control develops from observation of life encounters which generalize to a perception of causal sequence. It is important to examine both possible selves and locus of control in seeking to understand the achievement of occupational goals among women of low socioeconomic status, those receiving public assistance and those who meet the criteria for low-income families, but who live without public assistance.

Review of the Literature

Earlier in this chapter, the theoretical basis and the need for examining the possible selves of low-income women were established. In this section, the literature on various facets of the "possible self" and salient socioeconomic factors that may affect possible selves of low-income women are examined. The dimensions of the possible self discussed here are its crucial relationship to accomplishments, the need to balance the hoped-for possible self and the feared possible self, the ability of the possible self to bridge the present to the future through specific actions and to serve as a blueprint for future accomplishment, and the interaction of attribution (i.e., internal or external locus of control) and the possible self. Socioeconomic factors salient to a discussion of possible selves of low-income women are the capacity to work, educational level, the perception

of one's general health, and sexual and/or physical abuse.

Possible Selves

Possible Selves as Critical to Accomplishment.

Self-concept is crucial to one's perceptions of possible accomplishments. Self-concept is a complex, multi-dimensional collection of memory structures or self-schemas which are highly elaborated sets of information about the self in specific domains. Such sets of information are constructed through experience, reflecting categorizations made by both the individual and others. Researchers have documented self-schemas representing the domains of body image, academic efficacy, occupational efficacy, athleticism, and health-related issues. While self-schemas represent the conception of the self in the present (Markus, 1977), possible selves represent future conceptions related to what one expects to be, wishes to be, and fears being.

Markus and Nurius (1986) describe these "selves we could become, and the selves we are afraid of becoming" (p. 954) as the most salient of the unexplored areas of self-concept. According to Nurius (1989), the self-concept influences the future by serving as a "format or plan for action" (p.286). The value of these schemata is to permit swift interpretation of stimuli by providing perceptual biases and predispositions that enable one to go quickly beyond external information to references about the self. Nurius (1989) adds that these schemata mediate ongoing behavior. This means that these schemata combine two types of information, external information and self schema. For example, the low-income woman with little education may interpret career information (external

information) in the light of biases (self-schema) that would render particular occupations unimaginable for her; she would therefore be unlikely to engage in behaviors that would bring about employment in those unimaginable fields.

Mediation of ongoing behavior is connected not only to perceptual biases and predispositions but also to the individual's sociocultural milieu and to historical context. Through sociocultural and historical influences, a developing child receives messages that become representations of the self in memory. These past selves may function as incentives or motivators for future behavior - the selves to be approached or avoided (Cross & Markus, 1991). For example, for the low-income woman, academic achievement may be linked with the memory, "I once dropped out of school." In this manner, historical context influences one's evaluation and interpretation of the current view of self, the affirmation and defense of the now self (Cross & Markus, 1994). For the woman on public assistance whose academic history is linked to failure, historical context may render impossible a view of the self that includes job training or career.

Possible selves provide both a context for current behavior and the criteria for evaluating current events. For example, the woman whose past self was "school drop-out," may interpret a poor score on the exam for General Equivalency Diploma as a lasting inability to do academic work, whereas for the individual whose historical past self involves school success, a poor test grade may be seen as only a temporary setback (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Such current contextual clues may impact future behavior.

Possible selves provide both context for current and future behavior, and they also

affect persistence on task. Leondari, et al. (1998) found that the more specific the possible self (the blueprint), the greater the persistence on task. Persistence and the possible self are the subjects of Packard and Wong's (1999) study of the possible selves of college women who had initially planned careers in medicine but who dropped out after two years in pre-med programs. For comparison, the researchers measured the possible selves of women who had remained in pre-med. They found that those who persisted had clear mental images of women medical doctors as they pursued their own careers. Those dropping out of pre-med had no such models, images, or examples. Instead, they had decided on medicine on the basis of information such as, "I was always good in math and science." In terms of the low-income woman, it is likely that this context of the possible self may become the standard by which she judges life possibilities. Role models, however, may be significant in developing elaborate and specific possible selves and in persevering until their accomplishment.

Elaboration and specificity of the possible selves are important. The more elaborate and specific the image, the more likely one's achievement of it (Cross &Markus, 1994; Leondari, et al, 1998; Oyserman, et al., 1995). LaFleur (1996) studied the effects of elaborating on specific images of possible future selves on the behavior of adolescents. She found that when students were asked to imagine a snapshot of themselves in the future, or to imagine a snapshot of themselves accompanied by a script, the snapshot of the image combined with specific scripts of behaviors leading up to the outcome was evaluated as a more likely outcome than a non-specific, unscripted snapshot.

Interestingly, both imagining one possible specific outcome and imagining several

different scripts for achieving that one outcome influence achievement of the outcome (Anderson, 1983). The reverse is not true, however. Imagining several outcomes results in less plausibility and less influence on behavior (Anderson, 1983). It appears that the greater number of possible outcomes in one domain (e.g., health, occupation), the more diluted the effect of the imagined future self.

Balancing the Hoped-for and the Feared and Possible Selves.

Balance of the hoped-for and the feared selves is important. Maximal motivation toward a goal occurs when "it is balanced by a countervailing possible self in the same domain" (Curry, Trew, Turner, & Hunter, 1994, p. 135). Hoskins and Leseko (1996) found a similar need for a balance of hoped-for and feared selves in one domain. Oyserman and Markus (1990) found that balance enabled negative possible selves to be beneficial only when specific positive possible selves provided an alternative vision of how to avoid the negative possibility. In other words, "my being employed" may require a balance with "my being homeless" in order to motivate one to choose "my studying for the General Equivalence Diploma" over "my watching television." Meara, Day, and Chalk (1995) add that "possible selves need to include the anticipated affective experiences associated with attaining important goals" (p. 260). In effect, the individual needs to anticipate the pride and accomplishment the diploma may give, as well as to know that a link exists between daily studying and the anticipated affective experience of pride.

Affective Intensity.

The intensity with which an individual hopes for or fears a particular outcome reflects the link between cognition and emotion. The self generates goals which in turn

drive the emotions. Hooker (1999) states that individuals choose identity-relevant goals and engage in purposeful behaviors reflecting how much they desire a particular outcome. The relevance of the goal is based on what is at stake, and this cost determines the potential for emotion in the situation. Of interest in the case of public assistance recipients who have been mandated to pursue educational and/or career goals is how much affect is attached to achieving or avoiding a given occupational outcome. Two elements of Hooker's motivational link are worthy of examination in the context of assistance recipients; these are degree of desire and identity relevance. First, these individuals may not have chosen to attend classes or pursue a career goal. Second, the occupations for which they are being trained may not be as identity-relevant as those chosen by individuals who are pursuing their own individual career mandates.

The degree of fear or hope one associates with an outcome may be an indicator of how well differentiated and elaborated a possible self is. Differentiation of the self reflects the presence of a "specific self-relevant form, meaning, organization, and direction ... [providing] the essential link between the self-concept and motivation" (Markus and Nurius, 1986, p. 954). How much an outcome matters to an individual allows assessment of an important dimension of the possible self, its affective power. If the outcome matters little, the affect and motivation associated with it would be weak. By contrast, if the costs of its accomplishment are great, affect and motivation may stimulate steps toward its achievement.

Possible Selves as Bridges to Action.

Cross and Markus (1994) theorize that possible selves enable bridging the present

self with specific actions to achieve a desired future self. For example, college students were self-described as effective or ineffective problem-solvers. Those who described themselves as effective - and for whom problem-solving was an important element of their self-concept - and those who described themselves as ineffective - but for whom problem-solving was of low importance to their self-evaluation did equally well on a problem-solving activity under the conditions of the study. Maintenance of the skill differed for the two groups, however. Unlike the self-described effective problem solvers, the ineffective problem solvers maintained competent problem solving only when they were informed about their performance in earlier problem-solving tests. They continued negative possible selves in the area of problem solving until positive feedback from the earlier performance was given. Cross and Markus (1994) believe that their results point to the importance of self-concept to developing and maintaining competence. Theoretically, a work-first approach to women in poverty should facilitate that bridge between assistance and self-sufficiency, as it offers an opportunity to experience competency in an area leading to further steps toward self-sufficiency. The balance between the feared and the hoped-for possible selves may however be an issue for women on public assistance, as negative aspects of their lives are often emphasized over positive ones (Seccombe, James,& Walters, 1998).

The lives of poor women suggest impediments to the bridging process that Cross and Markus (1994) describe. Work income, for example, often complicates the finances of poor women; and welfare recidivism remains high (Atwood & Genovese, 1993). Furthermore, socialization experiences such as inadequate familial support, instability, lack

of career exploration, encouraged childlike behavior, and the absence of positive role models (Atwood & Genovese, 1993) may limit the number of possible selves from which the low-income woman can draw. McCready (1996) states that the pool of possible selves one can draw from is indeed determined by the individual's social experiences. A recent summary report by Kids Count (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1998) suggests how limiting the experiences of low-income individuals may be. That report lists four conditions associated with teenaged childbearing: economically disadvantaged family of origin, low aspirations for one's own educational and occupational achievement, dysfunctional family, and behavioral or substance-abuse problems. For purposes of this study, of most relevance in this list is the condition of low aspirations for one's own educational and occupational achievement, as it reinforces societal limitations on an individual's pool of possible selves.

A second complicating factor in establishing a positive perception of "Me working" may be the rather dismal picture of poor women working their way out of poverty. Mulroy (1995) notes that a woman working at minimum wage grosses $9360 annually, a figure that places a family of three well below the poverty line and hardly inspires a drive to move away from public assistance. Assuming that poor women have job choices may also be a fallacy. Rice (1996) notes that the failure of the welfare-to-work program predating recent welfare reforms rests on its funneling poor women into gender-based unskilled and semi-skilled positions. Atwood and Genovese (1993) also point out that poor women have few role models in non-gender-based work, perhaps a limitation to the development of a non-gender-based possible self. To critics who might suggest that career assessment demonstrates that poor women show greater interest in gender-based

jobs, one needs to remember that for women with few prospects, childcare and social work often represent their socialization. Such limitations on the aspirations of poor women are detailed in Bruckerhoff and Tavana's (1992) phenomenological study. Nurius (1989) emphasizes that individuals need positive alternatives to their negative self-schemata; it is at the point of developing positive alternatives to negative possibilities that attributions of one's abilities may be vital.

Possible Selves as Blueprints for Future Accomplishments.

Possible selves link dreams of the future to realities in the future. Sports psychologists have long used visual imagery to enhance performance and some studies indicate that imagining future performance does affect outcome positively (Feltz and Landers, 1983). Career counselors, likewise, have effectively used images of future work life to motivate clients (Morgan & Skovholt, 1977). These images are the blueprints that motivate behaviors. Hoskins and Leseko (1996) assert that the blueprint is not designed in isolation, but is linked to earlier successful or unsuccessful blueprints and is the incentive for mastery. For the low-income woman, such blueprints may be associated with negative life experiences. Packard and Wong (1999) agree that blueprints for possible selves may be tied to models or examples as well.

Unlike other representations of the future which are seen as behavioral, such as personal striving (Emmons, 1986), possible selves are purely psychological representations of one's future possibilities. Said to motivate present behavior (Day, Borkowski, Dietmeyer, Howsepian, & Saenz, 1992) they permit simulation of necessary steps and strategies for accomplishing goals (Cross & Markus, 1994). Theoretically, the

low-income woman who receives positive reinforcement for working might begin to visualize herself as self-supporting and independent. The next step might be to take incremental steps toward studying for a high school diploma or achieving job skills. The possible self may be a blueprint for personal change and growth (Cross & Markus, 1991), or it may inhibit change or development (McCeady, 1996). Indeed, possible selves may facilitate adaptation to new roles across the lifespan or may close avenues for self-actualization (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Markus & Ruvolo, 1989).

Selected Factors and the Possible Selves of Low-Income Women.

Work Experience.

The importance of satisfactory employment is two-fold. It may enable the low-income women to tap into the vast economic resources of America (Salomon, Bassuk & Brooks, 1996), and it may enable the low-income women to reap the psychological benefits that satisfactory employment provides. "Work has long been understood to be a central feature of human functioning" (Richardson, 1993, p. 428); in fact, Freud (1930) pointed out that the capacity to work is an indicator of mental health. More recently, studies have indicated that work is central to the need that both males and females have for fulfillment (Bromberger & Matthews, 1994; Crites, 1981; Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980; Ibrahim & Herr, 1987 Napholz, 1995). Despite the value of work to human health and well-being, this area of the lives of poor women has only recently been examined. Research documents decreased distress and depression, increased life satisfaction, and higher self-esteem among paid workers (Fiore and DeLong, 1990; Muller, Hicks, and Winocur, 1993; Pugleisi, 1995). Researchers also find that, when the employed and the

unemployed are compared on a range of psychosocial variables, those employed score generally higher than the unemployed on measures of psychological well-being (Pugleisi, 1995; Winefeld, Winegar, Tiggeman, & Goldney, 1991). Among specific areas of psychological well-being related to employment are self-esteem and what Betz (1992) refers to as commitment.

The positive effect of employment on the self-esteem of both men and women is supported by numerous studies (Pugleisi, 1995; Bromberger & Matthews, 1994; Joshi, Garon, & Lechassuer, 1994; Muller, Hicks, & Winocur, 1993; Sheeeran, Abrams, & Orbell, 1995). Self-esteem is related not only to employment, but also appears to affect the ability to conduct a successful job search (Ellis & Taylor, 1983). It is not known whether the possibilities low-income women visualize for themselves include working future selves, nor is it known what expectations and fears they have in the career domain. Kates (1996) enumerates the psychological advantages of employment for poor women and suggests ways to make such advantages available to them. If, however, the advantages were made available, possible selves might be the factor that motivates poor women to utilize them.

Although studies have not examined the possible self as it relates to work efficacy and poor women, some facts about the working lives of poor women are clear. As to the myth that poor women do not work, Aaronson and Hartmann (1996) found that most assistance recipients have worked within the past year. In fact, Tennessee's Families First recipients include 32.8 percent employed currently (Tennessee Department of Human Services, 1999). Aside from the complications that working creates for the finances of the poor woman, the two-year time period allotted for educational preparation may likewise

affect what an assistance recipient believes is possible for her. Although two years may allow for training in sales, service, or clerical occupations, the trend in these fields is toward low wages, part-time work, evening shifts, unpaid leave, and unpaid vacations, none of which are attractive for a single mother (Piotrowski & Kessler-Sklar, 1996). Among Tennessee's Families First participants, over 30,000 have jobs with an average wage of $5.67 per hour. Twenty-six percent have received pay increases and seven percent have received promotions. The job retention rate has been 73 percent, with the number of eligible adults working increasing from 57 to 74 percent between February 1998 and February 1999 (Tennessee Department of Human Services, 1999). Mulroy (1995), however, points out a problem with the jobs assistance recipients take: they may be at the bottom of the seniority ladder and these may be temporary positions, both of which are factors in early lay-offs.

Education.

A second factor that may limit poor women's possible future selves is post-secondary training. Rice (1997) and Sidel (1996) both point out that higher education is necessary if women are to move from poverty. Jobs that offer permanence, growth, and living wages possible for poor women require post-secondary training, thus proponents of welfare reform have included an educational component. Many low-income women have recognized the value of post-secondary training and are attending vocational schools or community colleges. Eight thousand women who at some time have been in Tennessee's welfare reform program have completed post-secondary skills training or are currently enrolled (Tennessee Department of Human Services, 1999). According to Sanchez-Hucles

and Gamble (1997), among women who have been public assistance recipients for five years or more, 50 percent have no work experience; and 63 percent do not have high school diplomas. They add that typical jobs available to the welfare mother are waitress, child-care provider, orderly, attendant, and cleaner. Not only are such jobs low paid, but they are gender-traditional. Rice (1997) writes that only 1 to 5 percent of women in federal job-training programs have been trained for gender non-traditional jobs.

Tennessee's Families First program reports education as a major trend, with more than 4,756 of its participants enrolled in Adult Basic Education classes and more than 12, 024 in Job Skill and Work Preparation Training. About 3,300 have completed technical school or community college, and 4,700 are currently enrolled in such post-secondary training (Tennessee Department of Human Services, 1999). It is not known, however, whether these initiatives have actually effected changes making beliefs about the self consistent with the desired change in employment status.

Perception of One's General Health.

Except for Hooker and her colleagues, it appears that few studies have explored the relationship of perceived health and possible selves. In Markus and Nurius's initial study (1986) health-related possible selves were included in their close-ended questionnaire. Hooker and her colleagues (Hooker, 1992; Hooker 1999; Hooker, Fiese, Jenkins, Morfei, et al., 1996; Hooker & Kaus, 1994), however, have used the open-ended possible selves questionnaire to elicit health-related possible selves Their studies demonstrate that with age, perceived health becomes increasingly likely to influence perceptions of efficacy and outcome expectancy. College students listed few health-related

possible selves, but by middle age, more than half of respondents listed a health-related possible self. Their research, likewise suggests that the more time one spends thinking about her health, the more likely she is to rate her health negatively. Hooker (1999) recommends that more studies focus on the relationship of perceived health status and possible selves in other domains (e.g., occupational).

Abuse.

A factor worthy of considerable attention among poor women, regardless of whether they are assistance recipients or not, is the issue of abuse, both sexual and physical. Abuse may especially need to be factored into the issue of "Me working" as a possible self. Abused women do not automatically become productive members of society when they receive a general equivalency diploma (Rice, 1997; Riger, 1997). The problems and issues of abused women may extend beyond financial need to include passivity, low self-esteem, fear, and dependency.

That abuse is pervasive among poor women is demonstrated in Riger's 1997 findings that 65 percent of Massachusetts welfare recipients were victims of violence presently or in the previous year. Other studies have shown similar numbers (Ibrahim & Herr, 1987; Mulroy, 1995; Polakov, 1993), but Salomon's (1996) Better Homes Fund study found an alarming 90 percent of welfare recipients in their study had experienced sexual or physical abuse, with 40 percent reporting having been abused as children. Among women living in low-income communities (but not necessarily welfare recipients) 82 percent interviewed "in the Worcester Research Project had been severely abused or assaulted at some time in their lives" (Bassuk, 1996). The effects abuse might have on the

development of possible future selves of poor women is not known, but Ibraham and Herr (1987) write from the position that abuse delays or stops vocational development.

Maladaptive self-schemas may develop in childhood as a result of repeated adverse experiences (Young 1990). Carson, Madison, and Santrock (1987) have found, however, that possible selves can both mediate and exacerbate such stressful life events. Individuals subjected to divorce, sexual abuse, physical abuse, or persistent verbal abuse may develop negative self-views. Simply identifying these negative self-views may not, however, be sufficient to change them. It may be necessary to balance these negative selves with positive possible selves. Linaman (1997) found that verbal abuse does indeed affect negative now selves and negative future selves and that women sexually abused as children had higher negative now selves compared to women not abused.

An exploration of the possible selves of low-income women should answer some basic questions about their views of themselves and their capacity for mastery. The review of the literature on the construct of possible selves and the examination of salient factors impacting the development of possible selves as they are presented in the literature provide a frame of reference for examining the possible selves of poor women.

Possible Selves Across the Lifespan

Just as positive possible selves may be needed to mitigate the effects of prior abuse and/or stigmatization, the same process may need to be applied as an individual ages. Both James (1880/1983) and Erikson (1968) describe the dynamic nature of the self as it ages. The literature suggests that, as individuals age, one's well-being may require adjusting one's possible selves, allowing for social growth and personal change or limiting one's

conception of what is possible for them. Cross and Markus's (1991) study of possible selves across the lifespan (ages 18 to 86) found that the 18-24-year-old group had a greater number of feared selves than other ages and expressed a dominant theme of fear of disappointment. Those aged 25 to 39, expressed fears about personal and social roles, whereas those aged 40-59 feared losses accompanying aging. The group aged 60 plus most feared physical and personal changes commonly related to aging. A shift apparently occurs from younger respondents describing becoming a possible self to older respondents describing continuing an activity or self-identity.

Transitions such as changing life roles with age require new self-generated images. Possible selves are linked with the motivational resources needed to guide the individual as change occurs (Cross and Markus, 1991; Frazier, 1994; Hooker, 1992; Hooker, et al., 1996; Hooker & Kaus, 1994; Ryff, 1991). Not only are certain feared and hoped-for selves incorporated with age, but they are increasingly incorporated into the self-concept with aging (Hooker, 1992). Not unexpectedly, it has been demonstrated that possible selves associated with physical exercise or with illness vary across the lifespan (Frazier, 1993; Whaley, 1998). Feared and hoped-for possible selves appear to influence motivation to exercise and have an impact on the physical activities of individuals. Such studies suggest that possible selves influence factors which enable adults to cope with aging.

One positive effect of aging on possible selves is the reported closer fit between the actual and the ideal self (Ryff, 1991). This congruence appears to be a result of decreasing numbers of aspirations and a consequent increase in life satisfaction (Hooker, et al., 1996). In effect, the person whose self-schema is modified to achieve congruence

between aspiration and achievement has greater psychological well-being.

At the opposite end of the age spectrum, a number of studies have examined the possible selves of adolescents. Carson, Madison, and Santrock (1987) theorized that the play roles of early childhood coalesce in adolescence as ideational forms enabling the development of possible selves. Perhaps adolescence may be seen as the period of creating the self one is going to become. Possible selves in adolescence range from possible careers to possible behaviors to possible character traits. Such possible selves may be developing much earlier than adolescence, however. Curry, Trew, Turner, and Hunter (1994) found that even sixth-grade girls' possible selves influenced their life domains and career choices.

From adolescence to adulthood, possible selves have been linked to the development and maintenance of competence (Cross & Markus, 1994). Call (1996) has applied possible selves and competence to helpfulness at home and in the workplace. She states that, " adolescents may be motivated to perform household tasks and care for other family members in order to actualize their future selves as heads of their own households and as parents.... Such helpful acts signify a movement toward adult status activating an image of a possible self that is responsible and dependable" (p. 65).

Not only are adolescents capable of well-elaborated future selves, but the more elaborate the possible self, the more motivational it appears to be (Leondari, Syngollitou, & Kiosseoglou, 1998). Of interest to those examining career efficacy among poor women might be the elaboration of the working possible self, yet no similar studies exist to examine the specificity of the very young low-income woman's self-schemata. Nurius (1989) has said that the more detailed and specific, the more effectively the new

future possible self can compete with the old negative self-schema. Stein, Roeser, and Markus (1998) found a connection between adolescent risky behaviors and negative possible selves of eighth and ninth graders whose self-schemata were grouped as "conventional," "popular," and "deviant." They found that self-schemas associated with popularity and deviant behaviors in eighth grade predicted risky behaviors such as sexual intercourse. Most likely not to engage in risky behaviors were those with a conventional self-schema. Whether a connection exists between negative possible selves and very early pregnancy has not been examined, but results of their study suggest an area of inquiry.

An exploration of the possible selves of low-income women should answer some basic questions about their views of themselves and their capacity for mastery. The review of the literature on the construct of possible selves and the examination of salient socioeconomic factors impacting the development of possible selves as they are presented in the literature provide a frame of reference for examining the possible selves of poor women.

Statement of the Problem

The purposes of this study are to describe the occupational possible selves of poor women and to explore the relationship between possible selves, locus of control, and life circumstances of two groups of low-income women. Examined in this study are variables that may be related to the participants' occupational possible selves such as locus of control, role models, actions taken to achieve their possible selves, age, ethnicity of the participant, number of children, age at the time of first pregnancy, marital status, educational level of the participant and her parents, work history, and history of sexual

and/or physical abuse. Another purpose is to examine the differences between the possible selves and the locus of control of two groups of poor women, those on welfare and those not receiving public assistance, yet fitting the profile of low-income as established by the U. S. Department of Labor (Acs, 1999).

Results of this study may be helpful to mental health professionals', career counselors', and social workers' understanding, assessing, and addressing the emotional ability to work, the aspirations and fears, and the motivation to work among low-income women. It may "provide a context... for assessment strategies that are meaningful to this population with respect to their current and potential opportunities" (Meara et al., 1997, p. 115). Additionally, implications for future research about the relationship of possible selves to the achievement of poor women can be drawn from this study. Inquiring about the now self is important, and much additional understanding may be gained by examining what life experiences and personal efficacy add to the individual's life blueprint.

Hypotheses

This study tests the following hypotheses as they relate to the two groups (i.e., low-income women recruited through the Department of Human Services [DHS group] and low-income women recruited through developmental classes at community colleges in the same counties [DEV group]).

Hypothesis 1a: The DHS participants will generate significantly fewer hoped-for selves than will the DEV participants.

Hypothesis 1b: The DHS participants will generate significantly more feared selves than will the DEV group.

Hypothesis 2a: Affective scores for the most hoped-for selves will be significantly lower for the DHS participants than for the DEV participants.

Hypothesis 2b: Affective scores for the most feared selves will be significantly higher for the DHS participants than for the DEV participants.

Hypothesis 3a: The DHS participants will assess the likelihood of their achieving their most hoped-for selves significantly lower than will the DEV participants.

Hypothesis 3b: The DHS participants will assess the likelihood of their becoming their most feared selves significantly higher than will the DEV participants.

Hypothesis 4: The DHS participants will have significantly fewer role models for their most hoped-for occupational selves than will the DEV participants.

Hypothesis 5a: In reporting activities to achieve their most hoped-for self, the DHS participants will identify significantly fewer self-initiated actions (i.e., indications of internal locus of control) than will the DEV participants.

Hypothesis 5b: In reporting activities to avoid their most feared self, the DHS participants will identify significantly fewer self-initiated actions than will the DEV participants.

Hypothesis 6: Participants in the DHS group will score significantly lower on the Spheres of Control Battery, Personal Efficacy Subscale, than will the DEV group.

Hypothesis 7a: The participants' group membership, attained educational level, balance between hoped-for and feared selves, and Spheres of Control scores will contribute a significant amount of variance in predicting participants' assessment of the likelihood of their most hoped-for self.

Hypothesis 7b: The participants' group membership, attained educational level, balance

between hoped-for and feared selves, and Spheres of Control scores will contribute a significant amount of variance in predicting participants' assessment of the likelihood of their most feared selves.

Definition of Terms

Low-income woman is defined as either (1) an assistance recipient, (2) a single, childless female aged eighteen and older who receive wages at or lower than $7.50 an hour ($15,600 a year), or (3) a single, married, separated, divorced, or widowed female aged eighteen or older living in a household of two to four with a total yearly income less than $24,600 (Acs, 1999). These standards which are used to define low-income by the Department of Labor (2000), allow incremental increases of $2900 for each additional family member above four. These figures are somewhat higher than those used to define the poverty threshold. By comparison, the poverty level for a family unit of one in Tennessee is $8350 per year. For a family unit of eight, the poverty level in Tennessee is $27,650 with incremental increases for each person above eight (State of Tennessee, 2001; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). The women in this study may, therefore, exceed the poverty level, but not the Department of Labor's definition of low-income.

Public assistance recipient shall be understood to be a recipient of benefits through the Families First program of Tennessee.

Families First is a reformed public assistance program which went into effect September 1, 1996 in Tennessee. The first major reform of welfare in Tennessee for 60 years, Families First is a welfare-to-work initiative which provides cash grants, education,

job training, childcare, employment assistance and transitional benefits to the poor of Tennessee who are making the transition to employment from public assistance. According to Ms. Dennie Greene (Personal communication, January 10, 2000) of the Knox County office of Families First, to be eligible, these women must have a child or children deprived of the support of the other parent through death, incarceration, or other reasons. For a woman with one child, the gross income must not exceed $1241 per month, with net income not to exceed $671 per month. For each additional child the income limit increases incrementally. In addition to food stamps and housing allowances, individuals qualifying for assistance receive a cash grant of $142 per month with incremental increases for each additional child. The resources limit, regardless of family size, must not exceed $2000, and a recipient's automobile may not be valued in excess of $4600.

Developmental group refers to low-income women taking developmental classes at community colleges within the eight-county area being sampled. Such participants have demonstrated academic performance at educational levels below that necessary for successful college achievement and are thus required to take remedial courses. Their ages are expected to be eighteen or above and to reflect an age range similar to that found in the DHS group. Any students reporting participation in Families First are excluded from this group.

Possible selves in the context of this study refers to Markus and Nurius's (1986) construct describing images of one's self in two future states: the hoped for future self and the feared future self. Based on the individual's experiences, possible selves are the elements of the self-concept that initiate growth and change, generating images of what

one would like to be, what one fears she may become, and what she believes she is likely to be in the future.

Hoped-for selves are defined as the positive self-conceptions that constitute what the individual hopes to be like in the future.

Feared selves are defined as the negative self-conceptions that the individual fears may be true of her in the future.

Role model is understood to be an individual, either acquaintance or family member personally known to and observed by the participant. Role model for the purposes of this study does not include media models not personally known to the participant, nor does it presuppose emulation of the model's behavior.

CHAPTER II

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Chapter 1 established the frame of reference for this study by describing the need for this study, a review of the literature, and the research questions this study poses. This chapter includes a description of the subjects and their recruitment, the measures used to collect demographic information, and the measures used to obtain information about possible selves and perceived personal efficacy, a facet of locus of control. It also presents an overview of the procedures that were followed in the study.

Method

Participants

Participants were two groups of women, ages 18 and older, living in eight rural counties of East Tennessee and recruited from Adult Basic Education classes taught through the Department of Human Services and from community college developmental classes serving the same eight-county area. Chosen for both their similarities and their differences, women in both groups are low-income and are deficient in the educational skills necessary to pursue higher education and/or career preparation. Participants recruited through public assistance offices had been mandated to the Adult Basic Education classes as a condition of participating in Tennessee's Families First public assistance program. Hereafter, this group (N = 95) shall be referred to as the DHS group. Participants recruited through developmental classes at community college campuses comprised the second group. Hereafter, this group (N = 104) shall be referred to as the DEV group.

The women in both groups reported ages ranging from 18 to 59 years. The yearly incomes of the participants ranged from $0 to $25,000, except for one participant whose family size was six and whose income was $30,000, still placing her within the low-income range defined by the standards of the U. S. Department of Labor (Acs, 1999). Data collected from five women in the DEV group were not included in the study. Two had incomes in excess of that established as low-income for the purposes of this study, and three reported being recipients of assistance through Families First.

Racial composition of the DEV group included eleven Black/African-Americans, ninety White/Caucasians, and three Hispanics. The DHS group was comprised of three Black/African-Americans, eighty-five White/Caucasians, two American Indian/Alaskans, and one Hispanic. No other races were represented in the two groups.

Fifty-eight DEV respondents were never married; twelve, divorced; twenty-nine, married; two, widowed; and three, separated. Among the DHS group thirty were never married; twenty-five, divorced; twenty one, married; five, widowed; and fourteen, separated.

The average number of children for the DEV group was .83, with a range from zero to six; for the DHS group, the average number of children was 2.15, with a range from one to eight. The ages of DEV participants at the time of their first child's birth ranged from fourteen to twenty-nine years, with an average age of 19.80 years, modal age, 18. For the DHS group, the ages at the time of their first child's birth ranged from fifteen to forty-two years, with an average age of 20.21 years, modal age, 18.

Educationally, DEV participants included nine who left high school before

graduation, eighty-nine high school graduates, five vocational school graduates, and one bachelors-degree recipient. Eight DHS recipients left elementary school before graduation, fifty-eight left high school before graduation, twenty-two graduated from high school, three had completed vocational training, and four had graduated from a two-year college.

An employment history determined that 95 percent of the DEV group and 96 percent of the DHS group have been employed previously. Among those previously employed, 63 percent of the DEV group and 76 percent of the DHS group have worked full-time.

The DEV group reported their health status as excellent, 18 percent; very good, 42 percent; good, 32 percent; fair, 8 percent; poor, 0 percent. The DHS group reported the following health status: excellent, 11 percent; very good, 27 percent; good, 36 percent; fair, 19 percent; poor, 7 percent. The DEV group's self-report indicated that 28 percent had been sexually abused, and 38 percent had been physically abused. Among the DHS group, 42 percent reported sexual abuse, and 54 percent reported physical abuse. Complete demographic data for both groups of women were summarized and may be seen in Appendix F.

Instruments

Demographic Questionnaire.

A demographic questionnaire was designed by the researcher to describe the women in the two groups (Appendix B). Participants were asked to indicate whether they were participants in the Families First program. Additional information requested was age, income, number of persons in the household, race, and marital status. Educational

information requested included the highest level of education attained by the participant and her parents or their surrogates. Initially, seven levels of educational attainment were included; however because of limited numbers of responses in several levels, the number of levels was collapsed to two for purposes of analysis: high school graduation or equivalent, no high school graduation or equivalent. Employment history surveyed whether the respondent had ever worked, how long she had worked, and whether the work had been full-time or part-time. An assessment of perceived general health was requested, as was information about possible prior physical or sexual abuse. Questions were designed to assess demographic variables and career information previously found to be relevant to self-concept and/or to career development.

Possible Selves Questionnaire.

The Possible Selves Questionnaire, which was developed by Porter, Markus, and Nurius (1984) and which was later reported on by Markus and Nurius in 1986, was used to measure participants' self-knowledge about occupational hopes and fears. This measure was selected because it is believed to target specific areas of the self-concept not presently addressed in current measures of global self-esteem and self-concept. Both closed-ended and open-ended versions of the questionnaire exist. Versions of the open-ended questionnaire have been effectively used with populations of varying ages and educational levels ranging from elementary school through age 64. For this study, the open-ended version was used. Subjects were told, "Probably everyone thinks about their future sometimes. We wonder what might happen to us and what kinds of people we might possibly be. Sometimes we think about what we hope we might become. At other times

we think about ways we fear we might turn out to be. We are interested in the hopes and fears you have about jobs in the future. Some jobs might seem very likely; for example, being an automobile mechanic. Others may seem less likely; for example, traveling in space. In some cases we may be taking steps toward some outcomes. In other cases, we may be taking steps to avoid some outcomes." Respondents were then asked to complete a Hoped-for Selves Questionnaire which was used to generate information about hoped-for occupational selves. A Feared Selves Questionnaire was used to generate information about feared occupational selves (Appendix C). Similar formats for these questionnaires have been used by Hooker (1999) and by Knox, et al. (2000). For each set of probes, the participants were asked whether they have seen the occupation modeled by someone known personally to them. The information thus gained addressed participants' familiarity with their hoped-for and feared occupational selves.

The open-ended Possible Selves questionnaire often allows participants to generate as many possible selves as come to mind. In the present study, however, a limit of six was placed on both hoped-for and feared selves. Data which were analyzed to ascertain affective salience, likelihood possible occupational selves, and the presence or absence of role models were limited to the possible self that participants identified as most hoped for and most feared. A similar limitation to the most feared and/or the most hoped-for occupational self has been used previously by Chalk (1996).

Affective salience, which Markus and Nurius (1986) link to the motivational value of hoped-for and feared selves possible selves, was measured by asking how much the subject hopes for or fears a possible self. A four-point unipolar Likert-type rating scale

ranging from "barely hoped for" or "barely feared" to "very much hoped for" or "very much feared" was adapted from Knox (1997) to assess the affective salience of each possible occupational self described. A score of 1 represented "barely" hoped-for or feared; 2, "somewhat" hoped-for or feared; 3, "hoped for" or "feared"; and 4, "very much" hoped-for or feared. Cross and Markus (1999) have used a similar Likert-type rating to assess importance of achieving or avoiding a possible self, and a similar 7-point scale has been used by Hooker (1999) to assess importance of each of participants' possible selves. Although participants rated the affective salience of each possible self listed, only the ones indicated as most hoped-for and most feared were used in the analysis.

Participants were asked to rate the likelihood of each generated possible self on a seven-point Likert-type scale, higher numbers indicating greater likelihood. Initially used by Markus and Nurius (1986) in their closed-ended Possible Selves Questionnaire to assess likelihood, the Likert-type scale has been used in studies by Cross and Markus (1991), by Knox (1997), and by Chalk, (1996). Only the likelihood scores for possible selves listed as most hoped-for and most feared were used in the analyses.

After identifying one possible self as most hoped for and one possible self as most feared participants were asked to describe what - if anything - they are doing to bring about those outcomes. A number of studies have included similar questions, but with different purposes. Gibson (1998) uses a similar question to examine the connection between cognition and behavior; Angeliki et al. (1998), to examine task persistence. The intent of this question in the present study was to examine locus of control as reflected by

internally (self)- initiated behaviors and/or externally-initiated behaviors.

For the Possible Selves Questionnaire, test-retest reliability over a one-week period was .72 for positive (hoped-for) selves and .89 for negative (feared) selves (Markus, 1987). Markus adds that three-week test-retest reliability of this open-ended possible selves questionnaire indicates that 90 percent of respondents were able to generate and identify a second time at least three of the "hoped-for selves," and 45 percent generated all three of the earlier "hoped-for selves" responses. As to "feared selves," 74 percent generated two of the three feared-self responses generated earlier and 25 percent generated all three previous feared-self responses. (Markus, 1987). Test-retest reliability has been deemed adequate in later studies as well (Oyserman and Markus, 1990; Linaman, 1996).

Markus (1987) reports validity sufficient for the instrument. Correlations between negative affect and the Derogatis Affect Balance Scale (1975) ranged from .21 to .33. Correlations ranged from .32 to .41 for positive affect and the Derogatis Affect Balance Scale (1975). Correlations with Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (1965), ranged from .34 to .42. Markus, her colleagues, and other researchers have demonstrated relationships between possible selves and a number of variables. Possible selves and deviant behavior in adolescence were negatively correlated, $\underline{r} = -.53$; popularity and positive possible selves were correlated, $\underline{r} = .36$; global self-esteem and possible selves were correlated, $\underline{r} = .43$ (Stein, et al., 1998). Although predictive validity among the low-income female population has not been established, among other populations, feared selves have been used to predict delinquency and absenteeism (Anderman & Anderman, 1998; Frazier, 1995; Garcia &

Pintrich, 1995).

Markus (1987) states that in her study of college students the likelihood of achieving positive (hoped-for) possible selves correlated .27 with Rotter's (1966) locus of control, and she cites a study of delinquents for whom the likelihood of achieving hoped-for possible selves correlated .74 with optimism for the future. Markus and Nurius (1986) report similar correlations with the probability of becoming their feared possible selves. Although perceived high likelihood of achieving positive occupational selves has been found to be predictive of higher academic achievement among college populations (Markus, 1987), no studies address this aspect with low-income women. Knox, et al. found likelihood of all possible selves to be correlated with global self-esteem, $\underline{r} = .40$; but likelihood of feared selves was negatively correlated with the self-esteem of females, $\underline{r} = -.21$

Balance is defined as generating a hoped-for self and a feared self in the same domain. In the present study, balance was determined by calculating the difference between the number of hoped-for and feared selves in the occupational domain and using the absolute value. Scores closer to zero indicated more balance, whereas larger values were indicative of less balance. Researchers agree that the balance between feared and hoped-for selves may predict the motivation and persistence an individual will exert toward a goal (Angeliki, 1998; Johnson, 1995). Oyserman and Saltz (1993) describe balance as mentioning a fear and a hope in the same content domain. In their study, when each hoped-for self in a particular domain was mentioned and a corresponding fear in the same domain was mentioned, the responses were coded as a balanced response.

Correlations between balance of hoped-for and feared selves and deviant behaviors such as hooliganism and truancy ranged from .08 to .18. Balance and competence with peers were, likewise correlated, $\underline{r} = .20$.

Spheres of Control Battery, Subscale 1.

To address the construct of control among low-SES women, the Spheres of Control Scale (Paulhus and Christie, 1981) was used. According to Lefcourt (1991), this instrument delineates "realms or spheres of interest in which individuals could have varying degrees of control" (p.419) and through which perceived personal control and social-system control can be assessed. The Spheres of Control Battery consists of three subscales: Subscale 1 is the Personal Efficacy Scale, Subscale 2 is the Interpersonal Control Scale, and Subscale 3 is the Sociopolitical Control Scale. For this study, only the Personal Efficacy subscale was used (Appendix D).

Lefcourt (1991) reports an alpha reliability coefficient for internal consistency of this scale as .75. Test-retest reliability at four weeks with male and female college students was determined to be above .90. At a six-month interval, test-retest reliability was above .70.

Lefcourt (1991) states that each subscale of Paulhus's Spheres of Control Scale correlates negatively with Rotter's I-E scale. For the Personal Efficacy subscale, $\underline{r} = -.37$. He describes the correlation of total scores on all three subscales of the Spheres of Control with Rotter's I-E scale as .75. Discriminant validity studies show that, using a sample of 110 students, the Crown-Marlowe Social Desirability Scale and the Personal Efficacy subscale have a low correlation ($\underline{r} = .19$); correlation between the subscale and a verbal

comprehension measure from the Guilford-Zimmerman tests was .01. Original validity studies were done with college students. Additional studies have been done with student athletes and other student populations.

This instrument has particular value to this study because the construct of locus of control, like the construct of possible selves, addresses personal perceptions relevant to goal achievement without the assumption that such achievement is purely environmentally or socially constrained or facilitated. The Personal Efficacy subscale contains ten items, of which four are to be reverse scored (item numbers 3, 6, 8, 10). Each item has a possible score of 1 to 7. The scores for each item were recorded for each participant in order to establish a mean subscale score for each individual. The mean scores were then used in the statistical analyses.

Procedures

Participants in both groups were recruited by the researcher in the same eight-county rural area of East Tennessee. The researcher visited Adult Basic Education and Developmental classes to invite those students present on that day to participate in a study designed to investigate a specific facet of self-concept - possible selves - by completing a packet containing a demographic questionnaire, a Possible Selves Questionnaire, and The Personal Efficacy Subscale of the Spheres of Control Battery. A $5 incentive was offered to each participant returning a packet to the researcher. Participants were told that they might revoke consent at any time during the collection of data without loss of the incentive. The researcher explained that the questionnaires would be sealed and seen only by the researcher, that questionnaires would be kept in locked storage by the researcher,

and that data from the questionnaires might be used in future research.

The researcher then distributed the questionnaires to those individuals expressing an interest in participating. Within each packet, an informed consent statement (Appendix A) was placed first; the demographic questionnaire (Appendix B), second; the Possible Selves Questionnaires (Appendix C), third and fourth; and the Personal Efficacy Subscale of the Spheres of Control Battery was placed fifth (Appendix D).

The researcher read the informed consent statement aloud and explained to participants that if they were willing to participate, they should keep the copy of the consent form for themselves. Women desiring not to participate were instructed to return the uncompleted packet to the researcher. Because instructions were presented orally, as well as in written form, the order of the instruments was the same for all participants. The researcher then read instructions for each instrument aloud to participants, proceeding to the next instrument when participants had completed each. The researcher invited questions for purposes of clarification both before and after the completion of each questionnaire. A script for administration (Appendix E) was used to assure uniformity of instructions. Instructions for the Hoped-For Possible Selves Questionnaire and the Feared Possible Selves Questionnaire described by Markus and Cross (1991) were used, with some minor modifications to enhance readability and to target occupational possible selves. Instructions for the Spheres of Control Battery, Personal Efficacy Subscale, were also read aloud. Although Paulhus (1983) found the scales to be easily self-administered by his sample of adult college students, it was expected that the reading level for some of these participants might be somewhat lower than that of Paulhus's sample. Participants

completed each questionnaire on site, enclosing all of them in the individual envelopes provided, and returned the packet to the researcher. Return of the completed packet constituted evidence of consent to participate.

Data Coding

Coding was necessary for one type of categorical data generated from the Possible Selves Questionnaire. Responses to the question of what subjects are doing to achieve or avoid outcomes was coded by two raters unfamiliar with the premises of the study and with no previous exposure to the data. Responses were coded as to behaviors reflecting self-initiation (internal locus of control) and other-initiated behaviors (external locus of control). The coders, two educators with masters degrees in education, received training involving an explanation of internal and external locus of control, a discussion of samples of behaviors reflecting each category of behavior, and five practice examples reflecting each category of answer. The raters were asked to choose a category for each example and to say why they had chosen that category. None of the examples used in the training were represented in the list generated by participants in the study. Coders worked independently with a list of 190 separate and non-identical responses typed by the author from the participants' Possible Selves Questionnaires. Interrater reliability, measured as percentage of agreement, exceeded 98%. For the two responses on which the coders initially disagreed, discussion between the two resulted in agreement on these two responses as well.

Statistical Procedures

Multiple analyses of variance (MANOVAs) were used to determine significance, or lack thereof, for Hypotheses 1 a and b, 2 a and b, and 3 a and b. One-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were used to follow up any significant MANOVA results. A one-way ANOVA was used to test significance of Hypothesis 6. The independent variable was group membership for hypotheses 1 through 6. For hypotheses 1a and 1b, the dependent variables were the number of hoped-for selves and the number of feared selves, respectively. For hypothesis 2a the dependent variable was the participants' affective scores for their most hoped-for occupational self. For hypothesis 2b participants' affective scores for their most feared self was the dependent variable. The likelihood value participants assigned their most hoped-for occupational self and their most feared occupational self were the dependent variables for hypotheses 3a and 3b, respectively. Each participant's mean score from the Personal Efficacy subscale of the Spheres of Control Battery was the dependent variable for Hypothesis 6.

Hypotheses 4, 5a, and 5b were tested with chi squares for two independent groups. The frequency of affirmative and negative answers to the question of whether participants had a personally known role model for the most hoped-for occupational self was used for hypothesis 4. To test hypotheses 5a and 5b, participants' answers were placed in one of two categories: internally initiated and externally initiated. Two chi square procedures were done - one for most hoped-for and one for the most feared self.

Hypotheses 7a and 7b were tested using two regression analyses.. These regression analyses tested the amount of variance contributed by the four independent

variables (i.e., group, participants' education, balance, and Spheres of Control) predicting the likelihood values assigned by the participants to (a) achieving their most hoped-for and (b) becoming their most feared selves.

Significance for all analyses was determined using an alpha level of .05. Where indicated, secondary statistical analyses were implemented.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Demographically, the participants recruited through the Department of Human services (DHS) and those recruited through community college developmental classes (DEV) conformed to low-income guidelines established by the U. S. Department of Labor (Acs, 1999). The DEV group members' average incomes (mean, $14,084; mode, $15,000; median, $12,000) were significantly higher than those of the DHS group members (mean, $4549; mode, $10,000; median $6,000), $t = .0017$, $df = 197$, $p < .05$. Agewise, the DEV group's average of 25.43 years (mode, 18; median 20.5) was significantly lower than the average of 31.09 years (mode 20; median 30) reported by the DHS group, $t = 4.598$, $df = 197$, $p < .001$. Another difference between the two groups was the significantly higher number of children reported by members of the DHS group, $t = 2.960$, $df = 137$, $p < .01$. The average ages at which mothers in both groups gave birth were not significantly different, however, $t = .575$, $df = 137$, $p > .05$. See Appendix F.

Educationally, the two groups were significantly different. For statistical analysis, educational levels for both participants and their parents or surrogate parents were collapsed to two levels (high school graduation, no high school graduation) to eliminate empty cells. The resulting chi square indicated significant differences in the educational levels of the two groups, $X^2 = (1, N = 199) = 78.202$, $p < .001$. Information about parents also yielded significant differences in the two groups. Results of a chi square indicated that the mothers of the DEV group were significantly more likely to have graduated from high school than were the mothers of the DHS participants, X^2 (, $N = 187$) $= 18.166$, $p < .001$.

Information about health and history of possible sexual abuse indicated significant differences between the two groups. The DHS group reported significantly poorer health than did the DEV group, X^2 (4, $\underline{N}$ = 199) = 6.06, $\underline{p}$ < .05. The DHS group reported a significantly higher incidence of sexual abuse (X^2 (1, $\underline{N}$ = 199) = 4.43, $\underline{p}$ = .035) and a significantly higher incidence of physical abuse (X^2 (1, $\underline{N}$ = 199) = 4.64, $\underline{p}$ = .035) than did the DEV group. Summarized demographic data appears in Appendix F.

A one-way multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed to test hypothesis, 1a, that the DHS participants would generate significantly fewer hoped-for selves than would the DEV participants, and hypothesis 1b, that the DHS participants would generate significantly more feared selves than would the DEV participants. The independent variables were group, DEV and DHS; and the dependent variables were hoped-for selves and feared selves, respectively. The results of the MANOVA did not support either of these hypotheses, F(2,196) = .87, $\underline{p}$ = .420. To examine for possible differences between hoped-for and feared selves within the groups, paired-samples $\underline{t}$ tests were performed. The results of these tests demonstrated that, for both groups, the number of hoped-for selves was significantly higher than the number of feared selves reported by participants. For the DEV group, $\underline{t}$ = 6.65, df = 103, $\underline{p}$ < .001; and for the DHS group, $\underline{t}$ = 7.43, df = 94, $\underline{p}$ <.001. Means and standard deviations appear in Appendix G.

To establish the balance between hoped-for and feared selves, the absolute values of the differences between the number of hoped-for selves and the number of feared selves were calculated. The mean difference for DEV participants was 1.29; standard deviation, 1.20. For the DHS group, the mean difference was 1.51; standard deviation, 1.41. An

independent-samples t-test determined that these differences between the two groups were not significant ($t = 1.17$, $df = 197$, $p = .243$).

To test hypothesis 2a, that affective scores for the most hoped-for selves would be significantly lower for the DHS group than for the DEV group, and hypothesis 2b, that affective scores for feared selves would be significantly higher for the DHS group than for the DEV group, a one-way MANOVA was performed. Results indicated significant differences between the two groups, $F (2, 179) = 5.393$, $p < .001$. One-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were performed to determine where differences between the two groups occurred. ANOVA results supported the hypothesis that the DHS group would have significantly lower affective scores for hoped-for selves than would the DEV group, $F (1, 180) = 10.11$, $p = .002$. The hypothesis that the DHS group would score significantly higher on affect for feared selves than would the DEV group was not supported. The mean affective score for the DHS group was somewhat higher than for the DEV group, but the difference was not significant, $F (1, 180) = .097$, $p > .05$ (Table 1).

Two paired samples t tests were used to test for significant differences between the hoped-for affect and the feared affect within the two groups. Results indicated that for both groups, affect associated with hoped-for selves was significantly higher than affect associated with feared selves. For the DEV group, $t = 7.32$, $df = 99$, $p < .001$; for the DHS group, $t = 4.44$, $df = 81$, $p < .001$.

The results of a one-way MANOVA indicated a significant difference in perceived likelihood, $F (2, 177) = 10.13)$, $p < .001$ between the two groups. To determine which likelihood differed, two one-way ANOVAs were performed. The follow-up ANOVA

Table 1

Analysis of Variance on Affective Scores for Hoped-for and Feared Selves

	Source	SS	df	MS	F
Hoped-for Selves	Between Groups	2.648	1	2.648	10.11*
	Within Groups	47.16	180	.26	
	Total	49.81	181		
Feared Selves	Between Groups	.088	1	.088	.097
	Within Groups	163.714	180	.910	
	Total	163.802	181		

*$p < .001$.

testing Hypothesis 3a, that the DHS group would assess their likelihood of achieving their hoped-for selves lower than would the DEV group, was supported, $F(1, 178) = 18.26$, $p < .001$. Hypothesis 3b, that the DHS group would assess their likelihood of becoming their feared selves higher than would the DEV group was not supported by results of the follow-up ANOVA, $F(1, 178) = 1.88$, $p = .172$ (Table 2).

Paired samples t tests were performed to test for significant differences between likelihood of achieving hoped-for selves and likelihood of becoming feared selves within groups. These indicated significant differences for both groups. Likelihood of hoped-for selves was assessed significantly higher than likelihood of feared selves by the DEV group ($t = 15.46$, $df = 99$, $p < .001$) and by the DHS group ($t = 7.61$, $df = 79$, $p < .001$).

The fourth hypothesis, that the DHS group would have significantly fewer role models for their most hoped-for selves than would the DEV group, was tested by a chi square procedure for two independent groups. The obtained $X^2 (1, N = 198) = .087$, $p = .444$ did not support the hypothesis. The chi square determined that 68 percent of the DEV group and 70 percent of the DHS group reported role models for their most hoped-for selves.

Although no hypothesis addressed role models for the most feared selves, a chi square was performed to test for differences between the groups in that area. The chi square did not indicate significant differences between the two groups in the numbers of role models for participants' most feared selves, ($X^2 (1, N = 180) = .024$, $p = .876$). Both groups, however, reported a greater percentage of role models for their most feared self than for their most hoped-for self [$F(1, 178) = 24.03$, $p < .001$]. See Table 3.

Table 2

Analysis of Variance on Likelihood of Achieving Hoped-for and Feared Selves

	Source	SS	df	MS	F
Hoped-for Likely	Between Groups	24.338	1	24.338	18.261*
	Within Groups	237.240	178	1.333	
	Total	261.578	179		
Feared Likely	Between Groups	6.847	1	6.847	1.883
	Within Groups	647.397	178	3.637	
	Total	654.244	179		

* $p < .001$

Table 3

Number and Percentage of Role Models for Most Hoped-for and Most Feared Selves

		Group		
		DEV	DHS	Total
Hoped-for Role Model [a]	No	33	28	61
	% Within Group	31.7%	29.8%	30.8%
	Yes	71	66	137
	% Within Group	68.3%	70.2%	69.2%
Feared Role Model [b]	No	12	9	21
	% Within Group	12%	11.3%	11.7%
	Yes	88	71	159
	% Within Group	88.0%	88.8%	88.3%

[a] $X^2 = .087$, $p > .05$.

[b] $X^2 = .024$, $p > .05$.

The hypothesis that DHS participants would report significantly fewer self-initiated actions to achieve their most hoped-for selves than would DEV participants was tested using a chi square procedure. Results were highly significant at X^2 (1, $\underline{N}$ = 183) = 34.95, $\underline{p} < .001$. Among the 96 DEV participants who responded to this question, 100 percent reported self-initiated behaviors; however, among the 87 DHS participants who responded to this question, 69 percent reported self-initiated behaviors. To test the hypothesis that in reporting activities to avoid their most feared selves, the DHS participants would identify significantly fewer self-initiated actions than would the DEV participants, another chi square procedure was performed. This hypothesis was, likewise, supported, X^2 (1, $\underline{N}$ = 159) = 28.95, $\underline{p} < .001$. Of the 92 DEV participants who responded to this question, 89 percent reported self-initiated actions to avoid feared selves. Within the DHS group, 67 participants responded, with 50.7 percent reporting self-initiated actions to avoid their most feared selves. Results appear in Table 4.

The sixth hypothesis, that participants in the DHS group would score significantly lower on the Spheres of Control, Personal Efficacy Subscale than would participants in the DEV group, was supported by the results of a one-way ANOVA, $F(1,197) = 18.96$, $\underline{p} < .001$. Using the seven-point scale, the average mean score for the DEV group was 5.30. The average mean score for the DHS group was 4.91. Summary results of the ANOVA appear in Table 5. All participants in both groups responded to the question.

Hypothesis 7a posited that (a) group membership, (b) attained educational level of participants, (c) balance between hoped-for and feared selves, (c) Spheres of Control

Table 4

Number and Percentage of Self-Initiated Behaviors to Achieve Hoped-for Selves and to Avoid Feared Selves by Group

		Group		
		DEV	DHS	Total
Hoped-for [a]	Self-Initiated	96	60	156
	% Within Group	100%	69.0%	85.2%
	Other-Initiated		27	27
	% Within Group		31.0%	14.8%
Feared [b]	Self-Initiated	82	34	116
	% Within Group	89.1%	50.7%	73/0%
	Other-Initiated	10	33	43
	% Within Group	10.9%	49.3%	27.0%

[a] $X^2 = 34.95$, $p < .001$.

[b] $X^2 = 28.95$, $p < .001$.

Table 5

Summary of Analysis of Variance on Spheres of Control, Personal Efficacy

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between Group	7.427	1	7.427	18.96*
Within Group	77.181	197	.392	
Total	86.608	198		

*$p < .001$.

scores, and (d) educational attainment would contribute a significant amount of variance in predicting participants' assessment of the likelihood of achieving their most hoped-for self. Results of a multiple regression analysis were significant, $F(4, 199) = 8.550$, $p < .001$. For the regression model, $R^2 = .151$. Only Spheres of Control scores ($p = .020$) were significant predictors of perceived likelihood of achieving hoped-for selves. Attained educational level ($p = .062$) and group membership ($p = .067$) tended toward significance, and balance was not significant ($p = .988$). See Table 6.

No hypothesis in this study addressed possible relationships between parents' educational level and likelihood of possible selves, but the strength of the correlation between educational level of the participant and the mother suggested a possible effect of maternal education on perceived likelihood of achieving hoped-for and likelihood of becoming feared selves. The statistical computer program (SPSS; Field, 2000) indicated multicollinearity between participants' educational attainment and group membership and between participants' and mothers' educational level. When independent variables are themselves correlated, it is difficult to ascertain how much variability might be attributed to each collinear variable. Group membership (DHS value = 1; DEV value = 0.) and participants' educational attainment were rather strongly correlated ($r = -.627$, $p < .001$), as were mothers' and participants' educational attainment ($r = .349$, $p < .001$.). A close relationship between maternal education and that of her children has been documented by other researchers as well (Betz, 1994; Conrad, 1999). Because of this relationship and the multicollinearity between these predictors, it appeared likely that the contribution of each

Table 6

Multiple Regression for Predicting Likelihood of the Most Hoped-for Selves with Variables: Spheres of Control, Balance between Hoped-for and Feared Selves, Group Membership, and Educational Level of Participant

Variable	B	SE	Beta	t	Sig
(Constant)	4.031	.730		5.525	.000
Spheres	.032	.014	.168	2.348	.020
Education	.434	.231	.165	1.879	.062
Group	-.406	.220	-.159	-1.844	.067
Balance	.009	.065	.001	.015	.988

Note. $R^2 = .151$; $p < .05$.

predictor variable might be compromised (Wampold & Freund, 1987). Another regression analysis was therefore performed, replacing participants' educational level with mothers' educational attainment. For this regression, the dependent variable was likelihood of hoped-for selves and the predictors were (a) mothers' educational attainment, (b) Spheres of Control Scores, (c) balance between hoped-for and feared selves, and (d) group membership. The regression model was significant, $F(4, 181) = 8.82$, $p < .001$. For the regression model, $R^2 = .163$. Significant predictors of likelihood of achieving the most hoped-for selves were Spheres of Control scores ($p = .004$), group membership ($p = .009$), and mother's educational attainment ($p = .018$). See Appendix H, Table H-1.

Hypothesis 7b, that participants' group membership, attained educational level, balance between hoped-for and feared selves, and Spheres of Control scores would contribute a significant amount of variance in predicting participants' assessment of their likelihood of becoming their most feared selves, was not supported [$F(4, 175) = 1.12$, $p = .349$].A multiple regression analysis demonstrated no correlation at the .05 alpha level between likelihood of feared selves and any of these four predictor variables. Results of this multiple regression analysis are seen in Table 7.

Although no hypotheses in this study addressed correlations between socioeconomic variables and possible selves, a review of the literature suggests the possibility of correlations between possible selves and items of demographic information reported in this study. Both groups were thus combined, and a stepwise regression analysis was performed to assess possible demographic predictors for likelihood of

Table 7

Multiple Regression for Predicting Likelihood of the Most Feared Selves with Variables: Spheres of Control, Balance between Hoped-for and Feared Selves, Group Membership, and Educational Level of Participant

Variable	B	SE	Beta	t	Sig
Constant	3.638	1.265		2.875	.005
Group	.467	.365	.122	1.278	.203
Balance	.130	.107	.091	1.216	.226
Spheres	-.020	.024	- .070	-.876	.382
Education	.304	.383	.076	.794	.428

Note. $R^2 = .025$, $p > .05$.

achieving hoped-for selves. Variables entered were health, sexual abuse, physical abuse, income, family size, age, number of children, age at time of first child's birth, mother's education, and father's education. Variables removed in the stepwise procedure were sexual abuse, physical abuse, income, family size, age, number of children, age at time of first child's birth, mother's education and father's education. Education ($p < .001$) and health ($p = .027$) were found to be significant predictors of likelihood of the most hoped-for selves. A summary of this analysis appears in Appendix H, Table H-2.

Additional statistical information is included in the Appendices. Means for variables are included in Appendix G, and frequencies may be seen in Appendix F. A correlation matrix for variables used in the analyses appears in Appendix I.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The major purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the occupational possible selves of two groups of low-income women, those receiving public assistance and attending adult basic education classes (DHS) and those attending community college developmental classes (DEV). This chapter includes an interpretation of the results of the study, identifies the limitations of the study, and offers ideas and recommendations for future research.

The two groups were quite similar in the numbers of hoped-for and feared selves generated. Women in both groups generated significantly more hoped-for selves than feared selves. A contributing factor may be that 13 percent of the DHS group and 3 percent of the DEV group could not bring to mind a feared occupational self. This outcome is not believed to be a result of accidental omissions on their part. At every DHS location at which data was gathered, at least one participant asked, "What if I don't fear anything?" or stated, "I can't think of anything I'd fear." Other researchers (Angeliki, et al., 1998) who have documented similar results have speculated that a low number of countervailing fears may reflect unwillingness to entertain images of oneself in unfavorable states, an interpretation which may be true of low-income women as well. Another possible reason for the greater number of hoped-for selves than feared selves, however, is that there may well be more for the low-income woman to gain than to lose; therefore, she may have more hopes than fears.

One important result of this study suggests that low-income women who endorse

more internal control of their lives, who have graduated from high school, and whose mothers graduated from high school tend to perceive themselves as more likely to achieve their most hoped-for selves than do similar low-income women who endorse external control of their lives, who have not graduated from high school, and whose mothers are not high school graduates. Women who believe in their own ability to influence desired outcomes in their lives likewise perceive themselves as more effectual in achieving their occupational hopes.

Educational attainment, likewise, offers advantages to low-income women. Aaronson and Hartman (1996) have stated, "Welfare recipients with a high school education are significantly more likely to work than are high school dropouts, and in the long run, are more likely to exit [public assistance]" (p. 593). The participants in both groups seem to reflect the point that the greater the educational attainment of the participant and the greater the educational attainment of her mother, the more she expects to achieve her occupational hopes.

Results of this study do not identify any significant predictors for likelihood of feared selves. Feared selves of low-income women appear to be so poorly elaborated that these women do not make a connection between their ability to control outcomes and their ability to avoid a feared outcome. They also do not appear to connect their own education or that of their mother with likelihood of the most feared outcome.

Educationally, the two groups reflect an important generational facet of this study of low-income women which may be helpful in explaining why the two groups differed in predicting their likelihood for achieving their most hoped-for self. Results do suggest that

low educational attainment predisposes the next generation to low achievement. The DHS group members were significantly more likely than the DEV group to have a mother who did not graduate from high school. A surprising 11 percent of the DHS group did not know or did not report their mother's educational level and 18.9 percent did not know or did not report their father's educational level. Only one DEV participant did not report her mother's educational level, and only about 3 percent of the DEV group did not know or did not report their father's educational level. Whether the father was present at all in these homes is unknown. These results suggest that, among families of the DHS group, education lacks the focus that it has in the families of the DEV group. While there is a stereotype that living in a rural setting and living in Appalachia would account for the lack of attention to parental educational level, it is important to remember that the members of the DEV group also live in rural Appalachia.

Balancing hoped-for and feared selves should theoretically have motivational consequences (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). For example, motivation derives from a balance of hope (I hope I get an office job) and fear (What if I have to work in fast food forever?). That more than one-eighth of the DHS participants did not generate a countervailing feared self suggests that these participants were less motivated than the individuals who could balance a most hoped-for with a most feared self. Interestingly, very few of the DEV group, who presumably had chosen to attend college despite academic deficiencies and low incomes, did not generate a feared self, whereas almost five times as many of the DHS group, who had been mandated to remediate educational deficiencies by attending basic education classes, did not. Oyserman and Markus (1990) state that balance

may be necessary to provide the link between hopes and the behaviors required to achieve the hoped-for outcome. The results of this study offer support to Markus's theory that balance has motivational consequences in that motivational levels for the DEV group appear to be higher than for the DHS group.

It is likewise possible that these results reflect the negative experiences that many DHS women have already had. A woman who has experienced sexual and physical abuse, teen-age pregnancy, minimum-wage jobs, and dependence on others for subsistence may find occupational fears inconsequential. These findings are, in fact, consistent with Yowell's (2000) study of Latino youth, which noted a similar significant imbalance between hoped-for and feared occupational selves. As in the present study, however, Yowell's findings were related to occupational selves. Yowell speculated that the imbalance between hoped-for and feared occupational selves may have resulted from greater frequency of feared selves within other domains examined, specifically personal well-being. Oyserman et al., (1995) found an imbalance in the direction of more feared selves than hoped-for selves; however their study examined the possible selves of African-American students' school persistence, not occupational possible selves. In the present study, only occupational fears were explored; therefore, it is not known whether low-income women would have a similar greater number of fears about personal concerns in comparison with fears about occupational concerns.

When Cross and Markus (1991) studied possible selves across the lifespan, they found that their participants who were aged 18 to 24 demonstrated an imbalance in the opposite direction; they reported more feared than hoped-for selves. Many of the

participants in the present study are similar in age to those in the Cross and Markus study; however, in other ways their participants were quite different. Their participants aged 18-24 were not low-income and were university students presumably performing at a high enough educational level not to require developmental studies. Their parents, who also participated in the study, reported an average educational level of 16.8, considerably higher than the parents of participants in the present study. The fears of the women in the present study concerned basic survival, whereas the fears of those aged 18 to 24 whom Cross and Markus studied were of disappointment or failure to be self-actualized.

Although not significant, there was a greater degree of balance for the DEV group than for the DHS group in the study. It is possible that a limit of six hoped-for and six feared occupational selves may have truncated results for either or both groups. Based on their affect and likelihood scores, and upon their educational attainment, it is likely that the DEV group is more highly motivated in the occupational domain. It may be important to follow up on balance between hopes and fears in other domains among low-income women and to find ways to measure what, if anything, the absence of feared selves does predict for future accomplishments.

Hooker (1999) has said that the choice of an identity-relevant goal and purposeful behaviors leading toward it reflect affective intensity, or how much an individual desires a particular goal. She adds that the relevance of a goal is related to what is at stake; that cost, in turn, drives the affect. The results of this study indicate that the DEV group's most hoped-for selves are more identity relevant and reflect greater desire for their achievement than do those of the DHS group. The cost of achieving a hoped-for self may

be relatively greater for the DHS group than for the DEV group, as what the assistance recipient is giving up may be of greater value to her than what she would gain. Health care, for example, is often not a benefit of the types of jobs assistance recipients would be able to fill. Losing the family's healthcare benefits may be a cost too great to be offset by the positive emotional benefits of employment.

Affective intensity, likewise, reflects the vividness, concreteness, and specificity of the possible self one can imagine (Hooker, 1999). Furthermore, possible selves are socially contextualized, reflecting the comparisons one makes between oneself and others. If one lacks the social context to create vivid, concrete images of a future self, a result would be reduced affect. That the DHS participants were attending classes by mandate, not by choice may have been reflected in their comparatively lower affective intensity. Despite skills-building, the hoped-for selves of the DHS group may reflect somewhat unattainable possible selves compared with what these women have seen modeled by others. One can speculate, however, that, based on previous research (Leondari, et al., 1998; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Yowell, 2000), the affect associated with the hoped-for selves of the DEV group reflect a social context that allows for self-comparisons leading to greater self-relevance, more organization, and more direction than do the hoped-for selves of the DHS group.

Affective intensity for feared selves was not significantly different for the two groups. As is true of hoped-for selves, the power of an outcome influences the affect for feared selves. The more an outcome matters, the greater its affective power. Although results suggest that the most feared selves of both of the groups in this study have less

meaning than their most hoped-for selves have, there was considerable variability in affective intensity of feared selves for women in both groups. For example, two women among the DHS group who endorsed feared affect levels of four out of a possible four based their ratings on previous negative experiences. One woman wrote that she feared having to be a nude dancer, work which she had done previously and complications of which had cost her custody of her young son. Another wrote that she feared being a prostitute because she had been a prostitute previously and she knew "what that life is like." A DEV participant, who rated her feared affect a four out of a possible four, stated that she feared "being a factory worker," work which she said she had done previously. Another DEV participant wrote that she feared "any job having to do with animals." She, however, rated her feared affect at two out of a possible four, perhaps because she considered that job implausible.

Affective power is related to implausibility. Results of the affective scores for the most feared self suggest that women in both groups consider their feared selves less likely to occur than their hoped-for selves. Both groups demonstrated higher affective intensity for hoped-for than for feared selves, but the resulting high scores suggest that they are invested in both.

Among both groups of women are intelligent individuals who have coped with difficulties; and, although the present public assistance programs set definite cut-off periods for assistance, a number of options are available for circumventing those standards. It is possible that many among the DHS group believe that, should their benefits be in jeopardy, a way to compensate would be found. Among the teachers of the

ABE classes, it was commonly reported that one difficulty in working with the DHS group was in convincing the women that they could indeed lose their benefits, and possibly custody of their children, should they not develop persistence and make appropriate progress. Regardless of the reasons for reduced affect, the results of this study tend to confirm that the most feared selves of these women have relatively less power than do their most hoped-for selves on their future occupational selves.

As was hypothesized, comparisons of likelihood scores of the DEV and the DHS groups resulted in a greater perceived likelihood for DEV women to achieve their most hoped-for occupational selves than for DHS women to perceive themselves achieving their most hoped-for occupational selves. A number of variables which were correlated with likelihood deserve attention. Educationally, the DEV group members have already progressed a step further than the DHS group, in that they have generally achieved high school diplomas or equivalents and have entered the realm of higher education, albeit not at the required achievement level. Furthermore, they have seen educational role models in their mothers, who were more likely to have graduated from high school than were mothers of the DHS group. There were moderate relationships between perceived likelihood of hoped-for selves and the participants' incomes and their self-ratings of their health. The better health and the higher incomes reported by the DEV group were associated with a higher likelihood of achieving the most hoped-for outcome. Because affective intensity is strongly correlated with perceived likelihood of achieving possible selves, it would be expected that the relatively greater affect of the DEV group might lead to feelings of greater likelihood of the most hoped-for selves for this group.

Comparisons between the two groups demonstrated no significant differences in likelihood of feared selves for the two groups. On average both groups indicated that they were somewhat unlikely to accept their most feared job and therefore were somewhat likely to avoid these jobs. Examining correlations between the likelihood of the most feared self and other variables demonstrated only one significant correlation, income, and that correlation is low (-.15). That correlation suggests that, as current income increases, there is a slight possibility that the perceived likelihood of the most feared self may decrease. The lower the income the woman has, the greater her belief that she likely will work in the job that she most fears.

Both the DEV and the DHS groups reported fewer role models for hoped-for selves than for feared selves. Environmental factors are believed to have influenced these results. Both of these groups are rural residents. Conrad (1998) defines rural as an area in a county containing a city not larger than 50,000 and lacking strong economic ties to other larger metropolitan areas. She notes that the literature suggests that educational attainment among rural residents is influenced by the few possible role models for technical and professional jobs. Betz (1994), likewise, notes the lack of female role models specifically in education and the corresponding lack of female mentors. Given Betz's view that educational institutions do not markedly increase the number of positive female role models, a mitigating effect of educational level on the most hoped-for self would not be expected. For the low-income rural female, role models for occupational hoped-for selves are generally few, regardless of educational level.

The nature of the rural environment and the socioeconomic status of the women in

the DHS group, led to the question of whether that the DHS group would have more role models for feared selves than for hoped-for selves. It was assumed that social context might have been sufficiently different for the DEV group to have seen more role models for their most hoped-for than for their most feared selves. The results of supplemental analyses, were consistent, however, with Betz's (1994) views: increased educational level and exposure to the community college environment did not contribute more variability in role models for the two groups. These results suggest that socioeconomic variables other than education may play an important role for both groups. Other studies have noted the paucity of positive role models among low-income adolescents and the limited context for developing positive selves. The present study bears out that finding among low-income adults as well. It appears that the context for observing occupational role models for feared selves is more likely to be present than is the context for observing hoped-for selves.

A perception that one can control outcomes is crucial to a low-income woman's predicted likelihood of her most hoped-for self, but not to likelihood of her most feared self. The actions the majority of women in both groups reported taking to achieve their most hoped-for selves and avoid their most feared selves reflect internal locus of control for both their most hoped-for and their most feared selves. More DEV participants than DHS participants viewed future accomplishments as resulting from their own initiative. In response to the question, "What, if anything are you doing to achieve [your most hoped-for self]?" typical answers were, "taking classes," "going back to school," and "studying hard to make good grades." DEV participants, likewise reflected self-initiated actions in

their typical answers to the question, "What, if anything are you doing to avoid [your most feared self]?" Typical responses were, "choosing my courses wisely," "staying in school," and "trying to do well in class."

More DHS participants than DEV participants responded to questions of what they are doing to achieve hoped-for selves and avoid feared selves with answers reflecting externally derived initiatives such as chance or the help of others. Typical responses to the question of behaviors leading to achieving their most hoped-for selves were, "I just hope so," "I'm just hoping," "I just want it," and "I need someone to motivate me." Answers reflecting external locus of control for the most feared selves were significantly more common among the DHS responses, typical responses being, "I'm just waiting," or "I'm just hoping it won't happen." Scores of the two groups on the Spheres of Control, Personal Efficacy Subscale, likewise, demonstrate that the DHS group perceive greater external control of their lives and express generally weaker agreement with statements reflecting internal locus of control than do members of the DEV group. The DHS group's scores are more reflective of lives which may indeed be controlled by external circumstances. Both groups, however, had scores above the midpoint of the Spheres of Control, Personal Efficacy subscale. This degree of perceived control indicates an area of relative strength for the low-income woman.

In a simultaneous multiple regression analysis, perceived control made a significant contribution to the prediction of likelihood of achieving the most hoped-for self. In other words, the more control the women perceived themselves having, the more confidence they had in their achieving their most hoped-for occupational self. The other three

predictor variables, balance between hoped-for and feared selves, group membership, and educational attainment did not contribute significantly to the prediction of likelihood. The full regression model accounted for only 15.1 percent of the variance in the perceived likelihood ratings of the most hoped-for selves. Group membership seemed to be dependent on previous educational attainment and the two are strongly correlated. For the low-income women in this study, if one has been successful enough in high school to graduate, then she tends to continue regardless of other factors. The high correlation of education and group membership may, however, have diluted the contributions of these two variables to the prediction of perceived likelihood in this regression (Wampold & Freund, 1987).

A subsequent simultaneous multiple regression removing participant's education, one of the collinear predictor variables, and using mother's educational attainment instead as a predictor variable accounted for 16.3 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, perceived likelihood of the most hoped-for self. In this regression, only balance of hoped-for and feared selves was not a significant predictor. Perceptions of control again contributed to the equation; however, this time, educational attainment, both as a group member and mother's educational level, were significant contributors to the prediction equation. Because mothers of the DEV group were significantly more likely to be high school graduates than were mothers of the DHS group, this result suggests that education is a positive influence on the educational achievement of one's children.

In the stepwise regression performed to rule out superfluous predictors in subsequent research, education and a number of demographic variables were entered as

predictors of likelihood of achieving the most hoped-for self. Education was found to be a significant predictor; and although the effect was small, general perception of one's health was also a significant predictor. As does education, the health of the low-income woman deserves more attention. Surveys of possible selves and health-related behaviors among poor women and an examination of the mother as a health-related role model might determine whether early intervention would pay economic as well as personal dividends for the poor.

A simultaneous regression analysis using the dependent variable, likelihood of most feared occupational selves, produced a rather surprising result, as did information about feared selves in general. Of the four predictor variables, group membership, educational attainment, Spheres of Control scores, and balance between hoped-for and feared selves, none was significant. Feared possible selves did not have a strong relationship with any variable in the study. It is important to know if the smaller number of fears than hopes, the reduced affect, and the likelihood of working in the most feared occupation are concomitant with being very poor and if so, whether they stem from a sense of, "How much worse can it be?" and giving in to the inevitable.

Implications for Mental-Health Professionals and Educators

Counseling psychologists work from the perspective of client strengths. That a majority in both groups of low-income women demonstrated an internal locus of control is an area of strength upon which counseling psychologists might build. Perceived control has been applied to career motivation, career aspirations, and perceived employability. For individuals who seem to be more self-initiating or who perceive themselves to be self-

initiating, a possible self can be a more potent motivator than it may be for those who are less self-initiating. It is important for the helping professional to know whether her client is self-initiating and to reinforce the power of the client to control her own life. Wherever possible, taking into account unique multicultural factors, counseling psychologists should reinforce the low-income woman's belief in the power of her own persistence and her own ability to control outcomes. Professionals do, however, need to be realistic about what control clients have over their lives. It is important for the professional to understand the limitations of being poor; but, within the bounds of her culture, it is worthwhile to enhance the client's perception of the control she does have. Through reinforcement of the client's achievements and reframing of the clients' present levels of achievement, it is possible to work in areas where the client can have success with control and then move later into other areas. The large number of abused women in both of these low-income groups suggests a need for careful assessment of the safety of the low-income client. As one works to increase the client's perception of control it is important to remain aware of potential threats to her safety.

In the realm of affect, much has been done with imagery and sports, but many of the same applications might be made to low income women and employment as well. If imagining the satisfaction of hearing the golf ball enter the cup enhances ones score for the game, then imagining the satisfaction of accomplishing a specific, vivid, and plausible job might motivate as well. Professionals should consider ways to help low-income women experience the vicarious affect associated with their hoped-for and imagined fears. At this point it would be appropriate to ask the low-income woman to reflect upon times

when she was required to use some of her strengths and assets and to recall the affect from those experiences.

Supplemental analyses of the demographic data indicate that mothers have a profound effect on the educational and occupational aspirations of their daughters. Betz (1994) has stated that maternal employment is a facilitative variable for career achievement. Although the present study did not assess the employment histories of participants' mothers, results did indicate that the educational level of the mother was positively correlated with the educational level of her daughter. Although educators and psychologists can do nothing about the educational levels of the mothers of women in this study, the majority of these women are mothers themselves. For that reason, more attention should be paid to reinforcing the influence one can have on her own children through her attainment of education and probably through preventative health care. Professionals should emphasize education and preventative health maintenance for the sake of one's children and their futures as well as for oneself.

Assumptions are often made about rural residents. It is indeed true that rural individuals do have limited experiences with occupations they might aspire to, but this limitation does not necessarily reflect limited occupational hopes. Although the DEV group expressed greater likelihood of achievement, they too have limited personal contact with individuals who might become their role models. More attention might be paid to introducing occupational diversity at an early age and to providing opportunities for contact with persons who do the work both groups of these women might aspire to do. An even more powerful intervention might be mentoring provided by women who have

made the difficult transition from poverty to self-support.

Limitations and Recommendations

Because this study was limited to low-income rural women living in Appalachia, it reflected the experiences of predominantly Caucasian women and was subject to their willingness to disclose information about themselves. Second, both of these groups of women were in classes to obtain more education and/or develop skills for a future occupation. In the case of the DEV group, education was voluntary; in the case of the DHS group, education was mandatory. Obtaining additional education is not necessarily true of other low-income women; these two groups represent a special sample of low-income women. Results of this study may therefore not be generalizable to other groups of low-income women or to other areas of the country.

A third factor affecting generalization of the study was the limit of six placed on the number of hoped-for and feared selves. Although the difference between the number of hoped-for and feared selves was significant, a limitation of six may have truncated results for either or both groups. Fourth, an order effect influencing the numbers of responses generated and limiting generalization may have been created by always placing hoped-for selves before feared selves in the questionnaire. Consideration might be paid to other arrangements of the possible selves within the questionnaires. A fifth factor is the possibility of a contextual effect of the setting, all classrooms, in which data was gathered. Ideally, this limitation might be dealt with by collecting the data in varied settings.

The relatively small number of feared selves suggests a need to examine whether the absence of balance of possible selves predicts motivation. It is recommended that

longitudinal studies that follow individuals' career patterns for a number of years to compile useful information about the motivational power of balanced selves within the occupational domain be developed. Another related consideration for future research might be to develop a way to assess whether concern about ending up in a most feared job affected the number of fears the participant was able to generate.

This study has demonstrated that women of the two groups reflect differences in locus of control, but without additional study, it cannot be said why this is the case. It appears that the DEV participant has already exercised some control over her life by seeking additional education. Marks (1998) has said that cultural factors promote differences in perceptions of the worth of internal locus of control. Qualitative studies would facilitate an exploration of the sources of the DHS groups's beliefs that others are in control of their futures and might elucidate whether, for this group, external locus of control is promoted by significant others.

The small amount of variance (15 to 16 percent) accounted for by the independent variables in the three regression analyses predicting the likelihood of low-income women achieving their most hoped-for selves is disappointing. While perception of self-control, previous educational attainment, mother's educational attainment, group membership, and health have some influence on the occupational lives of these low-income women, clearly other variables need to be investigated. As future research is conducted, investigators need to be cognizant of the fact that (as with any large group of individuals) there is great variability among these women in the person-environment factors they have experienced. This variability needs to be considered in choosing additional variables for study in the

prediction of occupational possible selves.

Demographically, both the DEV and the DHS groups met the criteria for low-income as the term is defined for this study. The average annual income of the DEV group was approximately $9,000 higher than that of the DHS group. The significantly higher income of the DEV group may be deceptive, however. Disposable income of the DEV group may not be that much different than for the DHS group because of the supplemental benefits such as food and housing allowances available to public assistance recipients. Information about supplemental resources from federal or state sources needs to be obtained in future research.

Finally, asking questions about the personal costs and benefits of career training for the low-income woman might be productive. It is unclear whether cultural differences between the low-income Appalachian woman and other women would affect the value placed on occupational hopes and fears and the personal costs of achieving them. Many of the assumptions made about career development apply to traditional students, but not necessarily to the non-traditional women in this study.

Further study is indicated in the area of likelihood of avoiding feared selves, in the effects of balance on likelihood, and in the degree of elaboration of the selves of low-income women. An examination of the career maturity of the low-income woman and an understanding of how plausible possible selves actually seem to her would reveal more information than is presently available. Qualitative studies would be appropriate and helpful in this area. Although more understanding was gained about the beliefs and perceptions of low-income women regarding occupational possible selves, in general,

information about the strengths and the needs of low-income women is deficient. The stakes, nevertheless, are high for both the present and future generations. Obviously, more research about the lives of poor women is needed.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Informed Consent

I would like to introduce myself and this research study to you. I am Barbara Robinson, a doctoral candidate in Counseling Psychology at The University of Tennessee. My dissertation concerns how women view the experiences that may be in store for them in the future. These dreams, hopes, and fears may be called "possible selves."You are invited to participate in this study.

In order to examine what women believe or fear is possible for them, I am asking that you fill out three questionnaires. One asks some questions about your history for statistical purposes only; the second asks about your hopes and fears for the future, and the third asks about some of your beliefs about your life. Completing the questionnaires should take about 30 minutes. The data from the questionnaires may be used in additional studies.

The only known risks of participating in the study are those any normal person would expect in filling out questionnaires. You will receive $5 for participating in the study, and you may become more aware of your feelings about your present and your future as you complete the questionnaires. By participating in this study, you will help further the understanding of how women see and evaluate themselves. This will help psychologists to better understand the strengths and needs of women and may aid in developing helpful ways of addressing those areas.

Your answers to the questions are confidential. At no place are you asked to put your name on the questionnaires, and only I will see your completed questionnaires. Your questionnaires will be kept in locked storage by the researcher and, after a required period of time, will be destroyed. No published report of this study will contain any information which can be used to identify any persons participating in it. Feel free to contact me at the address below if you have questions at any time about participating in this study.

Statement of Permission

I understand that this research is being conducted by Barbara Robinson, a doctoral candidate in Counseling Psychology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. I have read the above description of the study, and I understand that it is a truthful representation of the project and that I may withdraw my consent at any time. I understand that answering the questions indicates my consent to participate. I also understand that my responses will remain confidential, and that my identity will not appear on any of the pages associated with the questionnaires. If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher, Barbara Robinson at the address or phone number below.

Barbara Robinson
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville
College of Education
102 Claxton Addition
Knoxville, TN 37996-2321 Phone (865)974-5131

Please keep a copy of this form for yourself.

Appendix B

Demographics Questionnaire

Please answer these background questions which are for statistical purposes only.
Please do not write your name anywhere on these forms.

What is your yearly household income? $_____

How many persons are you financially responsible for? _____

Do you receive assistance from Families First? _____Yes No _____

Your Age _____

Today are you (Check one.)

_____ Never Married _____ Married _____ Separated
_____ Divorced _____ Widowed

What is your race? (Check one.)

_____ American Indian/Alaskan Native _____ White/Caucasian
_____ Asian/Pacific Islander _____ Hispanic
_____ Black/African American

How many children have you given birth to? _____

How old were you at the time your first child was born? _____

What is the highest grade you and your parents or others who raised you have completed in school? (Check those that apply.)

	Myself	Mother or other	Father or other
Left before finishing elementary school	_____	_____	_____
Left school before high school graduation	_____	_____	_____
Graduated from high school	_____	_____	_____
Graduated from vocational school	_____	_____	_____
Graduated from a community college	_____	_____	_____
Graduated from a four-year college	_____	_____	_____
Don't know	_____	_____	_____

Go to the next page.

What kind of work have you done for a paycheck?_____

Was that check for full-time _____ or part-time _____?

What is the longest time you have ever worked for a paycheck?

____ Less than 1 year
____ 1 -2 years
____ 3-5 years
____ More than 5 years

Think about comparing yourself to others. How would you say your health is?

Excellent_____

Very good_____

Good_____

Fair_____

Poor_____

Have you ever been sexually abused? _____ Yes _____No

Have you ever been physically abused? _____ Yes _____No

Stop and wait for instructions.

Appendix C

Possible Selves

Probably everyone thinks about the future at times. We wonder what might happen to us or what kinds of people we might possibly be. Sometimes we think about what we hope we might become. At other times we think about ways we fear we might turn out to be.

We are interested in the hopes and fears you have about jobs in the future. Some jobs might seem very likely; for example, working as an automobile mechanic. Others may seem less likely; for example, traveling in space.

In some cases we may be taking steps toward some outcomes. In other cases, we may be taking steps to avoid some outcomes.

Please answer the questions on the following pages.

Hoped-For

List all of the jobs you'd **really like** or **hope** to do and answer the questions under each job you list. List as many as come to mind. You need not fill up all the pages.

1. HOPED-FOR JOB_____

How much do you hope for this kind of work? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely hoped for	Somewhat hoped for	Hoped for	Very much hoped for

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very well

2. HOPED-FOR JOB_____

How much do you hope for this kind of work? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely hoped for	Somewhat hoped for	Hoped for	Very much hoped for

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very well

3. HOPED-FOR JOB_____

How much do you hope for this kind of work? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely hoped for	Somewhat hoped for	Hoped for	Very much hoped for

Go to the next page.

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very well

4. HOPED-FOR JOB_____

How much do you hope for this kind of work? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely hoped for	Somewhat hoped for	Hoped for	Very much hoped for

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very well

5. HOPED-FOR JOB_____

How much do you hope for this kind of work? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely hoped for	Somewhat hoped for	Hoped for	Very much hoped for

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very well

Go to the next page.

6. HOPED-FOR JOB_____

How much do you hope for this kind of work? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely hoped for	Somewhat hoped for	Hoped for	Very much hoped for

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very well

Please look again at your list of hoped-for jobs and <u>write the name of the one you MOST HOPE FOR.</u> For that <u>one</u> job, what are you doing to help yourself achieve it?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Stop and wait for instructions.

Feared

On the lines below list all of the jobs you are **afraid** you might have. Answer the questions below each job you list. List as many as come to mind, but you do not have to fill up all of the pages.

1. FEARED JOB_____

How much do you fear doing this job? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely Feared	Somewhat Feared	Feared	Very Much Feared

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very Well

2. FEARED JOB_____

How much do you fear doing this job? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely Feared	Somewhat Feared	Feared	Very Much Feared

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very Well

3. FEARED JOB_____

How Much do you fear doing this job? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely Feared	Somewhat Feared	Feared	Very Much Feared

Go to the next page.

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very Well

4. FEARED JOB_____

How much do you fear doing this job? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely Feared	Somewhat Feared	Feared	Very Much Feared

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very Well

5. FEARED JOB_____

How much do you fear doing this job? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely Feared	Somewhat Feared	Feared	Very Much Feared

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very Well

Go to the next page.

6. FEARED JOB_____

How much do you fear doing this job? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4
Barely Feared	Somewhat Feared	Feared	Very Much Feared

How likely is this job for you? (Circle one.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

Do you personally know anyone who has ever done this job? (Check one.) Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how well do you know this person?

1	2	3	4
Barely	Somewhat	Well	Very Well

Please look again at your list of feared jobs. <u>Write the name of the one you MOST FEAR.</u> What are you doing to keep yourself from ending up with that one job?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Stop and wait for instructions.

Appendix D

Spheres of Control Battery - Subscale 1: Personal Efficacy

Below are ten statements. Each statement has numbers from 7 to 1 below it. If you completely agree with a statement, circle 7; if you completely disagree with a statement, circle 1. If your opinion falls somewhere between these two points, circle the number that best fits that opinion.

Example: I prefer bad weather to good weather.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

Example: I would like to be on a television show.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

1. When I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

2. When I make plans, I'm almost certain to make them work.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

3. I prefer games involving some luck over games requiring pure skill.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

4. I can learn almost anything if I set my mind to it.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

Please go to the next page.

5. My major accomplishments are entirely due to hard work and intelligence.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

6. I usually don't make plans because I have a hard time following through on them.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

7. Competition encourages excellence.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

8. The extent of personal achievement is often determined by chance.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

9. On any sort of exam or competition, I like to know how well I do relative to everyone else.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

10. Despite my best efforts, I have few worthwhile accomplishments.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
AGREE						**DISAGREE**

End.

Appendix E

Script for Administering Questionnaires

Researcher: I would like to invite you to participate in a research study. First I will explain how you can do this. If you choose to participate, you will receive $5. At any time if you decide you do not want to continue, you may quit without loss of the $5 incentive. So that you understand who I am and what my research is about, I will read aloud as you read silently the sheet entitled "Informed Consent." (Read Informed Consent aloud.)

Researcher: Do you have any questions about the page we have just read together? (Answer any questions that arise.) If you agree to participate in the study, please keep this sheet for your information. We will begin with the questionnaire entitled Demographics Questionnaire. These words mean questions about your life, past and present. If you have any questions about this form as you work on it, raise your hand, and I will answer them. I will read the instructions aloud as you read them silently. (Read instructions.) When you finish this questionnaire, please wait for me to read instructions for the next step. (When participants have completed Demographics, ask if anyone has questions; clarify any questions that arise.)

Researcher: I will read aloud the instructions for the Possible Selves Questionnaires. (Read.) Are there any questions about this section? (Answer questions that arise.) If you have additional questions as you work, you may ask them at any time. (Answer individual questions should they arise.)

(When participants have completed Hoped-for Selves Questionnaires, read instructions for Feared Selves Questionnaires. Note that Questions may be asked at any time.)

Researcher: (When all have completed the Feared Selves Questionnaire, read aloud the instructions for the Spheres of Control Questionnaire.) I have given you two examples so that we can practice together. (Read the first example aloud as participants read silently.) Circle the number that best matches how you feel about the weather. (Read the second example aloud.) Now circle the number that comes closest to how you feel about being on a television show.

Do you have any questions about how this part is to be done? If at any time you have any questions, you may ask them. Sometimes people do not quite understand what a sentence or a word means. If you find a sentence or a word that does not seem clear to you, ask and I will clarify it for you.

Now go ahead and circle the number that best represents what you believe about each sentence.(Watch for questions or indications of confusion; answer any questions that arise.)

Now that you have completed this section, do you have any questions about it or about any of the forms you have done. (Answer any questions.)

Place your completed forms into the envelope and lay them on the table in the front of the room.

Appendix F

Frequencies and Summary of Demographics Questionnaire

What is your yearly household income? $_____

DEV Group

Range = $1500-30000 Mean = $14,084

DHS Group

Range = $0-21000, Mean = $4549

How many persons are you financially responsible for? _____

DEV Range = 1- 5, Mean = 2.03

DHS Range = 1-9, Mean = 2.75

Do you receive assistance from Families First? ___95___Yes No __104____

Your Age_____

DEV Range = 18 - 59, Mean = 25.43

DHS Range = 18 - 59, Mean = 31.09

Today are you (Check one.)

DEV Group

__58___ Never Married __29___ Married __3___ Separated
__12___ Divorced ___2___ Widowed

DHS Group

__30___ Never Married __21___ Married __14___ Separated
__25___ Divorced ___5___ Widowed

What is your race? (Check one.)

DEV Group

__0___ American Indian/Alaskan Native __90___ White/Caucasian
__0___ Asian/Pacific Islander ___3__ Hispanic
_11___ Black/African American

DHS Group

__2___ American Indian/Alaskan Native __85___ White/Caucasian
__0___ Asian/Pacific Islander ___1___ Hispanic
__7___ Black/African American

How many children have you given birth to? _____

DEV Range = 0 - 6, Mean = .83 DHS Range = 1 - 8, Mean = 2.15

How old were you at the time your first child was born? _____

DEV Range =14 - 29, Mean = 19.80 DHS Range = 15 - 42, Mean = 20.21

What is the highest grade you and your parents or others who raised you have completed in school? (Check those that apply.) Mother and Father - collapsed into 2 categories: Not HS grad, HS grad

DEV Group	Myself	Mother or other	Father or other
Left before finishing elementary school	0		
Left school before high school graduation	9	34	42
Graduated from high school (or GED)	89	69	59
Graduated from vocational school	5		
Graduated from a community college	0		
Graduated from a four-year college	1		
Don't know	0	1	3

DHS	Myself	Mother or other	Father or other
Left before finishing elementary school	8		
Left school before high school graduation	58	54	49
Graduated from high school (or GED)	29	30	28
Graduated from vocational school	5		
Graduated from a community college	1		
Graduated from a four-year college	0		
Don't know	0	11	18

What kind of work have you done for a paycheck?

DEV report 5 percent have never worked ; DHS report 4 percent have never worked.

Was that check for full-time _____ or part-time _____?

DEV full-time = 63 percent DHS full-time = 76 percent
DEV part-time = 34 percent DHS part-time = 19 percent

Have you ever been sexually abused?

DEV	DHS
Yes___28%___	Yes___42%___
No____73%___	No___58%___

Have you ever been physically abused?

DEV	DHS
Yes___38%___	Yes___55%__
No___62%___	No___ 45%__

Think about comparing yourself to others. How would you say your health is?

DEV	DHS
Excellent____18 %___	Excellent __11 %___
Very good___42 %___	Very good _27 %___
Good_____32 %___	Good _____36 %___
Fair_____8 %___	Fair ___ ___19 %___
Poor_____0 %___	Poor _____7%___

Appendix G

Means and Standard Deviations for Hoped-for Selves, Feared Selves, and Spheres of Control, Personal Efficacy Subscale

	Total Sample			DEV			DHS		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Hoped-for Selves	199	3.58	1.69	104	3.49	1.59	95	3.67	1.80
Feared Selves	199	2.71	1.52	104	2.53	1.49	95	2.42	1.80
Hoped-for Affect*	199	3.73	.53	104	3.85	.44	95	3.61	.59
Feared Affect	182	3.11	.95	100	3.07	.97	82	3.13	.89
Hoped Likelihood*	198	5.77	1.28	104	6.15	.76	94	5.35	1.57
Feared Likelihood	180	3.14	1.91	100	2.97	1.86	80	3.36	1.97
Spheres of Control*	199	5.10	.63	103	5.30	.61	95	4.91	.64

* Significant difference between the two groups, $p < .01$.

Appendix H

Table H-1

Supplemental Multiple Regression Analysis for Predicting Likelihood of Hoped-for Selves

Variables	B	SE	Beta	t	Sig
(Constant)	3.847	.731		5.264	.000
Spheres	.039	.013	.206	2.910	.004
Group	-.488	.184	-.197	-2.647	.009
Mother's Educ.	.432	.180	.175	2.398	.018
Balance	.034	.066	-.037	-.528	.598

Note. $R^2 = .163$, $p = .05$.

Table H-2

Model Summaries for Stepwise Regression Analyses Using

Demographic Variables for Prediction of Likelihood of Hoped-for Selves

Predictors	R	R^2	Change in R^2	df	F Change	Sig
			Analysis 1			
Education	.343	.118	.118	1, 115	15.355	.000
			Analysis 2			
Education and Health	.394	.155	.037	1, 114	5.014	.027

Note. $p < .05$.

Appendix I

Pearson Product Moment Correlation Matrix for Variables Used in Analyses

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. HL																	
2. FL	-.01																
3. H Affect	.40*	.02															
4. F Affect	-.05	-.12	.11														
5. Group	-.32*	.10	.22	.02													
6. Spheres	.28*	-.08	.19*	-.00	-.30*												
7. Balance	.02	.09	.22*	.16*	-.16*	.08											
8. Educ	.34*	-.02	.12	-.03	-.63*	.36*	.07										
9. MomEduc	.25*	-.06	-.07	-.14	-.31*	.10	.09	.36*									
10. Age	-.14*	.12	-.21*	.04	.27*	.05	.09	.02	-.14								
11. Children	-.13	.07	.24*	.00	.46*	-.03	.09	-.19*	-.12	.59*							
12. Health	.24*	-.05	.21*	.06	.27*	-.23*	-.10	-.08	-.09	-.30*	-.24*						
13. S Abuse	.01	.01	-.05	.12	.14	.06	.06	.11	.01	.15*	.27*	.20*					
14. P Abuse	.06	-.05	.00	.06	.15*	.02	.10	.08	.03	.19*	.30*	-.19*	.50*				
15. AgeFirst	-.05	.06	-.06	-.12	.14	-.05	-.20*	.04	.03	.32*	-.28*	-.17*	-.18*	-.18*			
16. Income	.24*	-.15*	.14	-.08	-.64*	.30	.15	.36*	.09	.10	-.03	.24	-.01	-.00	-.01		
17. FamSize	-.05	.05	-.13	-.06	.29*	.07	-.05	.10	-.07	.43*	.74*	-.11	.24*	-.17*	.17*	.12	

Note. H Likely = hoped-for likelihood, F Likely = feared likelihood, H Affect = affect for hoped-for selves, F Affect = Affect for feared selves, S Abuse = Sexual Abuse, P Abuse = physical abuse, AgeFirst = age at time of first child's birth, FamSize = number of persons for whom participant is financially responsible.

* $p < .05$.

Vita

Barbara S. Robinson received a Bachelor of Science degree in secondary education in 1963 and a Master of Arts degree in English in 1971 from East Tennessee State University. A teacher of twelfth grade English in the Cocke County, Tennessee and Hamblen County, Tennessee Schools for many years, she also taught English at Walters State Community College for seventeen years as an adjunct instructor. She initiated the Advanced Placement English program in Hamblen County and introduced Writing Across the Curriculum in the schools in which she taught. In 1993, she returned to school to pursue a degree in Community Counseling, receiving her M.S. degree in 1995 from the University of Tennessee. She entered the Ph.D. program in Counseling Psychology in the fall of 1995 and worked as an academic counselor to low-income, first-generation clients in a four-county area in East Tennessee while she pursued her doctorate. Completing her internship in Counseling Psychology at the University of Tennessee Counseling Center in July, 2000, she remained there in a post-internship graduate position until December, 2000. Following the completion of the requirements for her Ph.D. degree in May 2001, she plans to practice as a counseling psychologist in the East Tennessee area.